National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XVI. NO. 1. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1855. WHOLE NO. 781.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Published Weekly, on Saturday,

AT TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, 138 Nassau St., New York,

AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

31 *North Fifth St., Philadelphia.*

Advertisements inserted at $1 per square for the first insertion, and 25 cents for every subsequent one. For advertisements less than a square, 50 cents for each insertion.

Pro-Slavery.

WHOLESALE DENUNCIATION.

At a meeting of the extreme wing of the Anti-Slavery party, in this city, on Thursday, Mr. Garrison offered a series of resolutions that are quite a curiosity. Here they are :

Resolved, That the following religious organizations, viz.,
The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,
The American Home Mission Society,
The American Bible Society,
The American Bible Union,
The American Tract Society,
The American Sunday School Union,
The American and Foreign Christian Union,
The American and Foreign Bible Society,
The American Baptist Publication Society,
The American Baptist Home Mission Society,
The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions,
The Missionary Societies of the Protestant Methodist, the Episcopal Methodist, and Moravian bodies,

respectively, being in league and fellowship with the slaveholders of the South, utterly dumb in regard to the slave system, and inflexibly hostile to the anti-slavery movement, are not only wholly undeserving of any pecuniary aid or public countenance at the North, but cannot be supported without conniving at all the wrong and outrage by which chattel slavery is characterized, and, therefore, ought to be instantly abandoned by every one claiming to be the friend of liberty, and a disciple of Christ the Redeemer.

Resolved, That the attempt of the New York *Independent*, and other religious journals, to shield the American Board of Foreign Missions from anti-slavery condemnation, and to represent it as occupying a sound position in regard to the enslaved millions in our land, because of its action at Hartford, respecting certain laws in the Choctaw Nation, pertaining to the instruction of slaves and free coloured persons in Mission Schools, is marked by fraud, Jesuitism, and the supremacy of sectarian exclusiveness over the instincts of humanity.

This is doing up the business strong. These men take a strange delight in pouring out execrations. It would be hard to deprive them of such entertainments. Curse on, Shimei !—*N. Y. Evangelist.*

A CLEAN SWEEP.

At the meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held last week, in this city, the following resolution was reported by Mr. Garrison from the Business Committee, and discussed, and, we presume, was unanimously adopted. If there is anything else in heaven above, or earth beneath, which these fanatics are disposed to denounce, it would be gratifying to know what and where it is.

[*Vide* Resolution above, as quoted by the *Evangelist*, on the American Board, &c.]

These resolutions are submitted and supported by a man publishing a newspaper in which he allows such blasphemy to be published, from week to week, as makes the blood run cold to read. In a recent number, one of his correspondents says, "*If God has the power to abolish slavery, and does not, he is a very great* SCOUNDREL." From this he infers that there is no God at all.

We suppose that among all the supporters of the resolution we have copied above, there are but very few who believe in the existence of the God of the Bible. The Society which they represent is now the only American Anti-Slavery Society having any vitality whatever. In thus planting itself in defiant opposition to the entire body of Christian philanthropists in the United States, and boldly proclaiming its hostility to the Church and to all the institutions of Christian benevolence, it discloses its true character and reveals the natural results of unregulated and unscriptural measures of reform. At a late meeting in New England,

"Mr. Garrison read an article from the New York *Evangelist*, showing and bewailing the fact that the infidels of this day were carrying forward, with zeal and energy, the regeneration and licentiousness of time to [illegible] and clergy about us those evils with silence, indifference or approbation."

We have never seen the article in the *Evangelist* here quoted, nor is Mr. Garrison's testimony sufficient to induce us to believe that such a statement, so destitute of truth and so exceedingly unjust and injurious, has ever been published there ; but we make this allusion to it for the purpose of remarking that great injury is done to the cause of truth and substantial reform when the clergy are misrepresented as being indifferent or unfriendly to the great moral reformations of the day. Strike out of being the Societies enumerated in the damnatory resolution given above, and what would be left in the matter of philanthropy and benevolence? Separate the clergy from the asylums and other charitable houses of relief for the poor and distressed, and how long would they be sustained? Infidelity makes a great outcry about its philanthropy, but religion does the work.—*N. Y. Observer.*

ACT AND TESTIMONY.

At the late meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in this city, William Lloyd Garrison in the chair, the following solemn act and testimony was uttered against this journal :

"Whereas, Our friend Parker Pillsbury, now in Europe, has of late made some searching and truthful exposures of the pro-slavery position of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, which has awakened much interest and attention among the religious people of Great Britain, and has based those exposures on facts drawn from the records and writings of the Board and its friends; and whereas, the New York *Independent* has characterized him as a 'foul mouthed libeler,' for thus discharging his duty, and meanly refused him the use of its columns to defend himself from so calumnious a charge; therefore,

"Resolved, That *The Independent* has, in so doing, sought basely to injure the reputation of a faithful and able friend of the slave, and made a lame and impotent effort to defend the Board, and that we regret this all the more since the good words that journal has spoken against Slavery led us to hope for honour and truth instead of detraction and falsehood on so important a subject."

We see nothing left for us but to acquiesce. We cannot well be exscinded from a body with which we were never in active fellowship—though we have always given it credit for whatever of good it did or uttered ; and an apostle warns us that the *con*-cision is sometimes to be shunned rather than the excision.

Perhaps this solemn act and testimony may satisfy our brethren at the South that we are not such objects of dread as the following letter would lead us to infer :

"*To the Editors of The Independent:*

"LOUISVILLE, March 7th, 1855.

"GENTLEMEN: When I subscribed for your paper, I expected to see the subject of emancipating the slaves ably and fairly discussed. I did not expect to see in your paper the violators of law and depredators upon the rights and property of citizens lauded and encouraged to continue in wrong-doing. If anything would make me an *unqualified pro-slavery man*, it would be the *perusal of your paper*, which, desiring to avoid, I request you will discontinue it, as I shall not hereafter take it from the Post-office.

"Yours, respectfully, ——."

Between the act and testimony on the one hand, and this Louisville letter on the other, we hardly know what or where we are. But it is some comfort to reflect that Mr. Sumner was equally denounced at the same meeting at which that Act and Testimony were passed.—*N. Y. Independent.*

RUNAWAY NEGROES.

There is good reason to believe that negroes are often run off from this city to points in the free States, on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, by white men who infest the city, especially during the business season, and who instigate such negroes to commit robberies and give them the plunder, inducing them thereto by the promise of aiding them in obtaining their freedom. The police, we believe, are well aware of this, and also have an inkling of the manner in which negroes are run off, but are without power to wholly prevent the villainous practice. Such is the strict watch kept by the police at the steamboat landing that it is almost impossible for runaway negroes to leave the city from that point. This is well known to them and their white confederates. Therefore they do not attempt it, but leave the city by the Opelousas or Great Northern Railroad, or by other means, and then strike for the river, where, at some point they await the coming of an up-river boat, which is hailed, and on which they embark, the white scoundrel representing the negro to be his slave. On arriving at a convenient point on the Illinois, Indiana or Ohio shore, they land, the negro is told he is free, and thus the robbery of the slave-owner is accomplished.

The operation is a simple one, yet there are means of frustrating it—very simple means—but we fear they are, in too many instances, altogether neglected. We are sure that no steamboat captain engaged in the regular trade with New Orleans would knowingly connive at the escape of a slave from his owner. We are farther sure that if they had the slightest suspicion of a runaway being aboard any of their boats, they would detain him. But there may be captains who do not take such precautions as they ought to do in all cases.

Without intending to reflect on any one, but believing that good may come of calling the attention of steamboat captains to this important matter, we would earnestly suggest as a proper precaution to be observed in every case where a white man, accompanied by a negro or negroes, wishes to embark at any point on the coast, on a boat bound up, the officers of such boat should not allow the party to take passage without being first satisfied as to who and what they are, &c., &c.

We think that if such simple precautions were in all cases adopted by steamboat officers, the attempts of white villains to run off negroes would very often be frustrated ; indeed, that such attempts would soon be found so difficult, and attended by such danger, that they would quickly be discontinued, and perhaps the conductors or agents on our railroads might further aid in abating a growing evil were they to keep an eye upon any suspicious negroes or white men traveling upon the trains. It only needs a few summary examples to break up the nefarious system.—*N. O. Picayune.*

Selections.

FACTS OF SLAVERY IN KENTUCKY.

A CASE OF CRUELTY AND TORTURE.

Correspondence of The New York Tribune.

PARIS (Ky.), Tuesday, April 10, 1855.

On Monday, the 12th of March last, a Circuit Court, for Bourbon County, commenced. A Grand Jury of sixteen house-keepers were empanneled and sworn. On Tuesday, at noon, the Jury came from their room into open Court, when the following was read : "An indictment vs. Alpheus Lewis, Jr., and Margaret, his wife, for cruel and inhuman treatment of slaves. A true bill." Upon the reading of which the foreman stated that it was the unanimous wish of the Jury that, if the law authorized it, the Court would proceed to take immediate possession of the slaves specified in the indictment. The case being "something new under the sun" in this latitude, it was kept under advisement until the next morning, when an order was made by Judge Duval, to take possession of said slaves (Sally, a woman of perhaps 20 or 25 years, and Martha, a girl 10 or 12 years of age), and to summon the said Alpheus Lewis, Jr., and Margaret, his wife, to appear in the Bourbon Circuit Court, on Tuesday, the 20th of March, to answer the said charge. Accordingly, the negroes were taken possession of, and placed in the custody of Joseph Porter, our jailor, and the parties summoned as directed.

The next day, Mr. Lewis came to Paris, and employed the best physician or physicians to administer to the wants of his *wretched slaves ;* but, notwithstanding their skill and the rapid improvement made upon them, they were not in a condition that their owner could bring them into Court, and disprove the allegations which were made against him, or rather which were made against his wife. But, on the contrary, when the case was called up in Court, the Hon. Garrett Davis, Mr. Lewis's lawyer, remarked, in substance, that the slaves in question were in the possession of the Court, and that the Attorney for the Commonwealth could have such order made in the case as he (the Attorney) chose. Whereupon the Attorney, Mr. Dickerson, of Georgetown, asked for an order to sell said slaves, according to the statute, of which I subjoin an extract :

"If the owner of any slave shall treat him cruelly and inhumanly, so as, in the opinion of a Jury, to endanger the life or limb of such slave, or materially to affect his health, or shall not supply his slave with sufficient wholesome food and raiment, such slave shall be taken and sold for the benefit of the owner. On the petition of any person, verified by oath, or upon the presentment of a Grand Jury, setting forth substantially the ill-treatment of the slave, the Court shall cause the owner of the slave to be summoned, and may, if it shall appear proper, direct the Sheriff or other officer to take possession of the slave and hire him out, pending the proceeding; and such judgment and orders shall be given by the Court as the finding of the Jury shall justify." Art. 4, secs. 2 and 3, Revised Statutes, vol. 2, p 634.

The Court then rendered a decree to the effect, appointing Thomas A. Taylor a Commissioner, and directing him to advertise said slaves for sale, on Monday, the 2d day of April, it being County Court day for Bourbon County. They were advertised by sticking the following paper upon the Court-House door, and in no other way, and at no other place that the writer is aware of :

under a Decree of the Bourbon County Court, at the March Term, 1855, in the case of Alpheus Lewis and Margaret, his wife, I will expose to public sale, at the Court-House door, in Paris, on the 2d day of April next, County Court day for said County, on credit of four months, two valuable slaves, to-wit: a negro woman aged about 25, and a negro girl about 12. Persons wishing to purchase can see said slaves by calling on J. Porter. Bond, with approved security, will be required, having the force and effect of replevy bond.

"THOMAS A. TAYLOR, Commissioner.

"March 22, 1855."

Notwithstanding we have two newspapers published in Paris, and it is the custom to advertise valuable property, sold under a decree of Court, in the papers, the Commissioner and both of the editors, who are lawyers, and doubtless heard of the case, for it produced more general excitement than any case that was in Court, however kept it out of the papers. Why is this so? For answer, it may be said that the predecessor of the editor of the *Flag*, for a recent notice of the passage of Matt. F. Ward, through our town, in which he denominated him as the "great unhung," was attacked shortly afterward in the City of Lexington, by the Flournoys, and genteelly caned ; and, when he was afterward told that the Flournoys were relatives of the Wards, and that they were influential men too, whose politics were with the *Flag*, and, therefore, he ought not to have published such a notice, he replied : that he did not know they were relatives. In commenting upon this, the editor of the *Citizen* said that the editor who was caned ought to have known that Ward was related to *some one*. Both of our editors know that "Alpheus Lewis and Margaret, his wife," have many wealthy relations, and it is even yet true that "*the rich have many friends.*"

It was evident, however, that the neighbours of Mr. Lewis intended to do all that the law would enable them to do to correct the evil complained of, and it is generally understood that if there is a repetition of such conduct as has been lately perpetrated, the law will not be called into requisition, inasmuch as it is a very inefficient one—such conduct, they say, shall not again be known to them and go unpunished.

It will be observed that our law does not prohibit our tyrants from resupplying themselves with servants, or rather slaves ; nor, indeed, does it take from them, or only for a time, those that have been barbarously treated. Mr. Alexander, a merchant of Paris, after seeing these negroes, became very anxious to purchase the elder one, from the fact that he, about two years ago, bought her father and mother at the same time Mr. Lewis bought Sally, and he had found them to be good servants, and wished to buy her, measurably to gratify her parents, not doubting that she too was a good servant, as she was so represented at the sale two years ago, and so her countenance indicated. But he was informed by the Sheriff that there would be no use in entertaining such an idea, as Mr. Lewis had made an arrangement to have a negro-buyer at the sale to bid them in for him, as he was determined that they should not be sold to remain in this country. So the sequel proved. They were bid in by Mr. Lewis's agent, and they have been removed to parts unknown. Whether their tortures have ceased, "deponent saith not" ; they are evidently not yet in a condition to be taken off for sale.

Mr. Lewis not defending the case, the testimony was not elicited in open Court, but it has been freely made known by the Grand Jurors, as presented to them. Before the Jury, one of Mr. Lewis's neighbours, Mr. David Montgomery, of Revolutionary descent, testified that, on the first Monday in March, which was County Court day, the younger girl above spoken of ran into his house in a state of complete nakedness, and that her first words besought them "to please let her warm by their fire." Upon examination by this neighbour and wife, the girl was found to have been most cruelly treated. She showed burns that evidently were made with hot irons upon her neck, her face, her hands, under both arms, between her legs, *both behind and before*, besides bruises upon her head, and bleeding at the ears. She had that evening chill after chill. This neighbour acted humanely and manfully, and the miserable girl was soon enveloped in a comforter before the fire, and he sallied out in search of other neighbours, determined to have them witness the horrid spectacle. Unfortunately, nearly all of them were in Paris. He succeeded, however, in finding two, who saw the girl while at his house. He then, in company with one of them, went to Mr. Lewis's house—he also being in town. Upon the ringing of the bell, Mrs. Lewis presented herself at the door. A short conversation ensued, in which Mrs. Lewis acknowledged that she had corrected the girl, and that she had bade her never show herself again in her presence. Mr. M. replied that she was in a very bad condition, and that she had better send for her ; upon which the door was shut in their faces. It was also made known to members of the Grand Jury, though not in the Jury-room, by white men in Mr. Lewis's employment, that Sally (who is a grown woman and, I think, the mother of children) was stripped, by Mrs. Lewis's directions, entirely naked, and her heels tied up to a tree about four or five feet from the ground. She then made a negro man force the pump, and another negro woman direct the hose so as to drench her with water, while she would stand off a pace and pelt her with stones until she would tire, and then she would take to her more favoured method of torture, the hot iron. The reason these men in Mr. Lewis's employment were not summoned before the Grand Jury was, that there was a sufficiency of testimony without them, especially in the case of the young girl. Had they been summoned, Mr. Lewis would have anticipated the whole proceedings and put the negroes out of the way—a thing that the neighbours were very anxious to prevent, for they had volunteered their information to the Jury, and wished it confirmed by the appearance of the negroes. The writer of this saw the slaves in the jail, in company with divers other gentlemen of Paris and Bourbon County, and I will say that Sally had old scars upon her back as large as one's hand ; sores upon her hips, thighs and legs, that could scarcely be covered with the palm of the hand. The smaller one's condition has been described above. She came to jail with no other clothing on than a linsey dress.

You are ready to inquire who are this "Mr. Alpheus Lewis and Margaret, his wife." He is the son of Alpheus Lewis, Sr., of Clarke County, Ky. Mr. Lewis, Sr., is said to be a member of the Baptist Church (Calvanistic is the term of distinction in this country), a man of wealth, and reputed to be of one of the best of families. Mrs. Lewis's maiden name was Scott, and perhaps she has inherited from her father, Robert Scott, a larger estate than any lady now living in our County. Her father died while she was quite young. Her mother afterwards married again. Her mother and step-father are of the same religious faith with Mr. Lewis's father. The step-father occasionally preaches, perhaps regularly. If these parents have brought up "Alpheus and Margaret, his wife," in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, the wise man erred when he said, train up the child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it. Their fortune is ample. They spend much of their time in New Orleans, and other cities. Their large estate, in a good neighbourhood, in Bourbon County, not being situated upon a Macadamized road, is not a suitable place for them to dwell in. They purchased a fine piece of land in Gov. McDowell's survey, and built upon it a handsome dwelling, after the most approved modern style. They laid out their grounds with taste, made a splendid carriage road, and groups of handsome evergreens decorate their beautiful and extensive yard ; so that the traveller upon the road between Paris and Lexington (and which, by the bye, is said to be one of the finest roads in the Union), as he passes, would doubtless feel that here was a paradise ; for here nature and art have combined to make this place lovely and enchanting. Oh! shame, that it should be anything else than paradisical ! But *here* is the residence of "Alpheus Lewis, Jr., and Margaret, his wife."

"Uncle Tom's Cabin" has had an extensive reading in Kentucky. The majority of its readers, I think, deem it a faithful and fair work. But some have said that Mrs. Stowe was unjust in representing a master selling his favourite servant, and that she took more pains to depict the Legrees than the Shelbys. It is known, however, that good servants have sometimes been sold ; and it is also known that no female character is personated in the book that equals or approximates to Mrs. Lewis in cruelty and inhumanity. KENTUCKIAN.

KANSAS—THE AFFRAY AT LEAVENWORTH.

The St. Louis *Intelligencer*, of May 5th, brings us the particulars of the fatal affray at Fort Leavenworth, the first bloody fruit of the pro-slavery invasion of Kansas :

"It seems that there was a meeting of squatters and citizens of the town and neighbourhood generally, at Leavenworth City, on Monday last, got together for the purpose of making a public demonstration of opinion with regard to the claims of the squatters, the election, the slavery agitation, and other prominent questions agitated in that section. There was a large attendance of both pro-slavery and anti-slavery men, and the meeting was characterized by uproariousness, bickering, confusion and ebullition of animosity between the two factions.

"A question, among others, was put to vote by the Chairman, and the vote being close, a division was called by ordering the ayes to one side of the house and the noes to the other. Malcom Clark, a prominent politician of the pro-slavery faction, and a large owner of or a squatter on land, in and about the town, cried out, 'We have the majority !' to which a lawyer, named McCrea, a leader of the Free Soil faction, answered, 'It's a lie' ; whereupon Clark struck him, and struck him a second blow, which was prevented by staggering against the wall. As soon as he recovered from the stun, McCrea drew a revolver and shot Clark, killing him instantly. McCrea then fled, hotly pursued by a number of Clark's friends, who fired several shots at him, none of which, however, took effect. He ran to the river, and sought shelter behind the bank, which was abrupt and high, whence his friends took him into their protection, removed him to the fort two miles distant, and delivered him to the military authorities, who locked him up in the guard-house.

"Great excitement ensued. Threats of mob violence and lynch law were circulated, but no unlawful demonstrations made. A petition was gotten up by the mob, and signed by three or four hundred names, requesting the officers in command at the fort to give up the prisoner, promising to give him the benefit of an impartial trial by jury. The petition was not acceded to, and the prisoner was still confined in the guard-house, at the time our informant left.

"A hand-bill was printed and circulated all over the country, up and down the river, calling upon all pro-slavery men, all true friends of the South, and of slavery in Kansas, to meet on Thursday, at Leavenworth City, to take into consideration the aspect of affairs and to adopt measures of proceeding in the present crisis. The hand-bill is signed B. F. Stringfellow and J. W. Kelly, editors of the *Squatter Sovereign*, J. Marion Alexander and a number of others."

The St. Louis *Republican* (Whig Atchison paper) publishes a copy of a hand-bill calling an indignation meeting, on May 3d. It closes with the following appeal :

"Here is another life that has been taken by the murderous hand of a treacherous villain! Where will these consequences end, God only knows! Arise, fellow-men, and trample under your feet the hydra-headed monster, ABOLITIONISM!

"Mr. George S. Park, of Parkville, Mo., whose printing establishment was recently destroyed by a mob, has issued a card to the public, relating to that affair. He says he shall not leave Parkville, as ordered by the mob. Mr. Park is a native of Vermont. He emigrated to the West when quite young ; he served under Houston in Texas, and was at the battle of San Jacinto ; he afterwards served as an officer in the service of the United States against the Indians, on the Western frontier. He was the principal founder of Parkville, and, in his card, declares that the representation that he is an Abolitionist is false. Mr. Park was absent in Kansas Territory when his press was destroyed. A late, but rather doubtful, report from Western Missouri states that his house has been burned by a mob and that he has been 'lynched' in Kansas. It is believed by those who know him that he would not submit very tamely to mob violence."

The meeting was held at Webster, Mo., at which resolves were passed of the following character :

"That self-defence requires the expulsion of every person bringing into reproval negro slavery. That robbers and traitors have no right to the protection of the law. That they justify the proceedings at the Parkville riot. That they approve of the resolution in regard to Methodists, and add that all ministers preaching prejudicial to slavery. That they have no argument against Abolition papers but the Missouri River Bonfire and Hemp Rope. That they pledge themselves to go to Kansas, and help to expel those corrupting the slaves ; and that they call a grand meeting at Parkville on the 5th inst."

The following is from the St. Louis *Democrat* of the 5th :

"Latest news by the steamers is to the effect that, to-day, there will another mobocratic display in Parkville, where there will be gathered together an immense assembly, at the bidding of the Self-Defensive Association. The crowd, we understand, is to be divided off into squads, which are to be detailed nearly as follows : One company to Kansas City (in Jackson County), to destroy the American Hotel, at present used as the reception house for the Eastern men who come to settle in Kansas ; another to proceed, at the *right time*, to K. T., to break up the *Herald of Freedom* office, in Lawrence ; and others to do business in other counties."

JUDGE DOUGLAS AND HIS SLAVES.

Extract from his Speech on the Bill to Protect Officers and other Persons acting under the Authority of the United States, in reply to Senator Wade, of Ohio.

Mr. PRESIDENT : The Senator from Ohio [Mr Wade] has invaded the circle of my private relations in search of materials for the impeachment of my official action. He has alluded to certain Southern interests which he insinuates that I possess, and remarked, that where the treasure is, there the heart is also. So long as the statement, that I was one of the largest slaveholders in America, was confined to the Abolition newspapers and stump orators, I treated it with silent contempt. I would gladly do so on this occasion were it not for the fact that the reference is made in my presence by a Senator for the purpose of imputing to me a mercenary motive for my official conduct. Under these circumstances, silence on my part in regard to the fact might be construed into a confession of guilt in reference to the impeachment of motive. I therefore say to the Senator that his insinuation is false, and he knows it to be false, if he has ever searched the records or has any reliable information upon the subject. I am not the owner of a slave, and never have been, nor have I ever received, and appropriated to my own use, one dollar earned by slave labour. It is true that I once had tendered to me, under circumstances grateful to my feelings, a plantation with a large number of slaves upon it, which I declined to accept, not because I had any sympathy with Abolitionists or the Abolition movement ; but for the reason that, being a northern man by birth, by education and residence, and intending always to remain such, it was impossible for me to know, understand and provide for the wants, comforts and happiness of those people. I refused to accept them because I was unwilling to assume responsibilities which I was incapable of fulfilling. This fact is referred to in the will of my father-in-law, as a reason for leaving the plantation and slaves to his only daughter (who became the mother of my infant children), as her separate and exclusive estate, with the request that if she departed this life without surviving children, the slaves should be emancipated and sent to Liberia, at the expense of her estate ; but in the event she should leave surviving children, the slaves should descend to them, under the belief, expressed in the will, that they would be happier and better off with the descendants of the family with whom they had been born and raised than in a distant land, where they might find no friend to care for them. This brief statement, relating to private and domestic affairs (which ought to be permitted to remain private and sacred), has been extorted and wrung from me with extreme reluctance, even in vindication of the purity of my motives in the performance of a high public trust.

As the truth compelled me to negative the insinuation so offensively made by the Senator from Ohio, God forbid that I should be understood by any one as being willing to cast from me any responsibility that now does or ever has attached to any member of my family. So long as life shall last—and I shall cherish with religious veneration the memory and virtues of the sainted mother of my children—so long as my heart shall be filled with parental solicitude for the happiness of those motherless infants, I implore my enemies, who so ruthlessly invade the domestic sanctuary, to do me the favour to believe that I have no wish, no aspiration, to be considered purer or better than she who was, or they who are, slaveholders. Sir, whenever my assailants shall refuse to accept a like amount of this species of property tendered to them under similar circumstances, and shall perform a domestic trust with equal fidelity and disinterestedness, it will be time enough for them to impute mercenary motives to me in the performance of my official duties.

THE STANDARD.

SPEECH OF REV. THEODORE PARKER,

At the Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, May 9, 1855.

Reported for the Standard by William Henry Burr.

Mr. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN : We come here, from year to year, to take each other by the hand, and to look America in the face, and see what new brightness gleams in the well-beloved countenance, and also what blackness Slavery has gathered there. Whenever we come, there are always new things joyous ; there are likewise new things sad.

This morning, I will ask your attention to some Thoughts on the Present Aspects of Slavery in the United States. To follow the argument, for my convenience in speech and yours in memory, I will speak, first, of the Diverse Elements which enter into our national consciousness ; next, of the Steps which have been taken by the foes of American freedom in the last twelve months ; and, third, of the great Political Parties now existing, either favouring or opposing Slavery. That, ladies and gentlemen, is the subject and this the division thereof ; and if my words be somewhat sober and a little heavy, you need not complain, for I stand between the music that is past (alluding to the Hutchinson Family) and the eloquence that is to come (alluding to Wendell Phillips), and over the sober cloud of my rainy argument my friend will [illegible] will atone by his beauty, for what in me is only sober speech and grave thought (applause).

Of the first, first.

I. Here is a great nation, bound together into one and by Material Interests. That and that almost alone holds us together. It is thought profitable to remain united. It is supposed to pay.

In ethnological origin, which gives unity to Spain, Russia and each German State, and to many other nations, we are exceedingly diverse ; for, though here be fifteen millions with Anglo-Saxon blood preponderating in their bosom, there are yet other ten millions who have not the same origin, but are descended from Africans, Irish, Germans, Scandinavians, Dutchmen and "the rest of mankind." This circumstance—that we are of such diverse nationality—however, does not interfere at all with our national oneness, because such is the nature of our institutions, so elastic our frame of government, that foreigners mingle themselves in the great tide of American population, and after a single generation, you cannot tell which drop fell from the Scandinavian, from the Celtic, from the German or the Anglo-Saxon cloud. We have no ethnological unity of descent. We need not be disturbed by the diversity. Foreigners are not gathered together in masses as foreigners, nor limited to any one section of the Union ; they are scattered everywhere. Not a State that has not some ; scarce a town without a representative of very diverse nations.

To come still nearer to the matter, we have not, however, Unity of Idea ; and that is a matter of much greater importance. We have two ideas entering into the national consciousness ; to wit, the Idea of Freedom, which you all understand, and the Idea of Slavery, which you know only too well. These two ideas are conflicting elements ; they disturb us everywhere. In the one-half of the land, the idea of slavery preponderates ; it moulds all the institutions ; in the other, the idea of freedom wins the support of the great mass of the people. These two come together in the national councils ; they meet as fire and water ; they can never mingle. One must burn up the other or else be quenched by it. They only join to do battle ; their common sacrament is quarrel ; the sole music they join in is common growl and discord. Essentially hostile, there can be no lasting peace between them. Every year shows the incompatibility of the two. Both would be master ; one *must* be. Slavery allows no rival ; freedom, none. Each would buy the other. For as God and Satan cannot reign in conjunction, making adverse divinity and devilry into our royalty, because we would have a heaven of righteousness and peace, and the other a hell of injustice and war, no more can freedom, which wants a democracy of mutual welfare, strike hands lastingly with slavery, which will have a despotism of selfish tyranny on the one side and servile subordination on the other. Draw a compromise between the two, it is all in vain. Call it a truce of God ; it is a hollow, deceitful peace, which is far worse than an open and substantial war.

While these two ideas are regarded as parts of the national consciousness, as fundamental, there must be agitation, there must be strife, there will be civil war ; first in sentiment, next in ideas, and, if not ended in that period, then it must be a Civil War of Actions. First, feelings conflict ; next, ideas join issue ; and then swords meet, blade to blade.

You see this strife, which agitates the nation in its national councils, extends, likewise, to each State, each county, every town, every sect. Every party has got these elements of division. I am amazed that any careful man should think it possible to keep peace betwixt the two. All treaties, all alliances must needs fail. Humanity cannot bind freedom over to keep the peace towards slavery, nor slavery towards freedom. The opposition of nature will suppress any attempt to create unity of will. A scientific association cannot exist if one-half thereof seeks to promote ignorance, while the other part wishes to advance knowledge. What would become of a Peace Society, halved into two moieties, whereof one sought to promote warfare and the other establish peace ? A moral society, half of them seeking to promote drunkenness and the other half to establish temperance everywhere? There can be no truce between freedom and slavery ; they are mutually destructive ; one or the other must come to the ground.

Now, mankind always tends to unity. There is a dreadful logic in the great multitudes of men. You and I may be false to our principles, but millions of men will never be so ; for as one great law governs every drop of water in the ocean, and in all its bays and creeks, making it ebb and flow by the universal law of the tides, just so is it with great bodies of men ; they must carry out their first principle. We must have a first principle and then carry it out ; and we are to determine whether our first principle shall be the Idea of Freedom or the Idea of Slavery. Once, in the American field, in a time of common danger, these two ideas stood side by side ; but when the danger was gone, they turned round, and now stand face to face. They are fighting against each other, no longer against a common foe. There are men who swear allegiance to both—loyalty to freedom in the North, and loyalty to slavery in the South. These have a divided allegiance. It may last in an individual ; never in a people. There was an old hypocrite who began every prayer, "Save us, good God," and ended it, "Save us, good devil." By and by, I suppose, he gave up his praying altogether, or else he chose whom he would serve—either God or devil. The time is drawing nigh when the people of the United States have got to make up their minds, and the old command comes to us, "Choose you this day whom you will serve ; if freedom be right, serve that ; if slavery, serve this. Both you cannot, must not, shall not ; choose you whom you will serve, God or Devil"!

So much for this diversity of elements ; that is the first point.

II. Now, hitherto, for the last forty and seven years, slavery has triumphed over freedom in the national councils, always. The last victory of freedom over slavery was in 1808 ; there has not been one since. During the last twelve months, look at the steps which have been taken by slavery, adverse to freedom. I make six of them ; here they are. I shall not state them in their chronological, but rather in their logical, order ; stating those first which come most eminently from the Government of the United States.

1. The first was the Ostend Conference. The American government, an Administration of slave-catchers, commanded its diplomatic ministers, who "lie abroad," are the servants of the slave-catchers, to meet and take measures to force Spain to sell Cuba. The Slave Power wants Cuba as a fortification for slavery ; it fears that the island may one day become a castle of freedom, and it wishes to overslough it with American slavery, lest it should be possessed by human freedom. I know the pretence is made that if we do not take possession of it, some other European power may, and it will be used as a fortress hostile to our freedom! That is only a pretence ; it is nothing but pretence. The fear is that it may acquire a liberal government and become *hostile* not to American freedom, but *to American slavery*. In the North, the fillibusters do not say so ; in the South, they talk it right out in plain speech.

The Ostend Conference came to nothing ; it ended in vanity and vexation of spirit, for it disclosed wickedness of purpose, while it betrayed the foolishness of the measure. One of these will be scourged with the moral indignation of mankind, and the other lashed with the scornful laughter of the human race.

2. The next step was Toucey's bill for the protection of kidnappers against the law of the free States wherein they exercise their trade. Puritanical, "democratic," senatorial Mr. Toucey, from Connecticut, introduces a bill, which passes [illegible] Mr. Commissioner Curtis, of Boston, should kidnap a freeman and send him off into bondage, he shall not be tried, Kane by Pennsylvania, Curtis by Massachusetts, law, but they shall be brought into the United States Court of Kidnappers, and tried before Fugitive Slave bill Judges. There is an old proverb, "Set a thief to catch a thief." Toucey knew it, and adopted the old general maxim with a speciality ; he sets a Man-thief to catch a Man-thief—that is, to let him go (applause). No doubt there would be great rejoicing among the Kanes, and Curtises, and that class of functionaries, if they knew that they were to be tried by men who were just as guilty as themselves, and who, having stricken down trial by jury, would nullify every law which Pennsylvania and Massachusetts might make against kidnapping their own citizens. We all remember this bill was introduced in the Senate, having had, of course, the approbation of the President of the United States before it went there ; it had a very large majority of that body in its favour ; but the session was not long enough for it to get through the other House, and so it died a natural death there ; and Toucey and his bill, they both went out of Congress together (loud applause).

3. The next step is, the Perpetual Fillibustering against Mexico, Central America, Hayti and Cuba, and "the rest of mankind," generally. This is the act of unofficial men, but they have the decided approval of the Executive itself. Two things are clear : First, the American Government wants Cuba as slave soil, but it has not the courage to seize it openly and directly. The old Scandinavian fillibusters nailed the black flag to their mast-head, and they went in the light of day and seized any country they were strong enough to lay hold of and keep. The American Government does not quite dare do that. Next, the American Government wants war with Spain, as a means to that end, but, in the present state of public opinion, does not venture to begin the war openly. So it leaves individual fillibusters to invade Spain privately and secretly on their own account, hoping that they will foment a war with her, and then the General Government will have to interfere in the matter, as it did in the case of Mexico. That is not all it does ; it sends ministers to Spain itself who are fillibusters at heart. Soulé had one advantage over most of the American diplomatic representatives ; "he could speak a foreign language," because he was born in a foreign country, however. Soulé could not accomplish the business for which he went, and Augustus Cæsar Dodge (not the last of the Romans, I hope) is sent to take his place (laughter). These men are sent there in order to sting the Spanish Government into hostilities against us ; then we may go on and fight, and declare, as we did in the last Mexican war, "Whereas, war exists *by the act of Spain* ; therefore," so and so. The thing is wicked in the first place ; it is mean and sneaking in the next (laughter). The General Government encourages this fillibustering ; it allows the crime to go on continually ; it interferes once in a while, but very much as Simon Snug played the part of the lion ; it roars against fillibusters as loud as a mouse in the wall (laughter). Hear what the President said, on the 8th of January last, to the old soldiers. I am quoting President Pierce (laughter). "It is cheering to reflect that they who have fought our battles have never been the men to *disseminate political heresies* (a democratic President talking about *political heresies !*), to *revile the Government* (inuendo, to expose the frauds and tricks of the Cabinet), to deride our institutions (meaning the "Patriarchal Institutions"), to sow internal dissension (that is to say, it is not according to the golden rule to sell your brother and sister), to set at defiance *the laws of the land*" (the Fugitive Slave bill, meaning). Had President Pierce forgotten Benedict Arnold? Is he too *young* a man to remember Aaron Burr? At least, there was General Quitman, fitting out his expedition at New Orleans, the very head and acknowledged President of the fillibusters. There, also, was Colonel Kinney, at New York, at that very moment fitting out his expedition. And the President says it is not the men who have fought our battles who set our laws at defiance! What did he mean by the men who "deride our institutions"? Garrison and Phillips ; they deride the patriarchal institution (laughter) and set the laws at defiance. It is the men who oppose the Fugitive Slave bill ; it is not those who go fillibustering against Texas, Mexico, Hayti, Central America, Cuba "and the rest of mankind" (laughter). They are doing it in the cause of Slavery, and that is a virtue which covers up a multitude of sins ; yes, all sins whatsoever. The *Richmond Examiner*, of April 13th, 1855, says :

"Every reflecting man must long since have observed that *we are fast approaching a most important crisis in our relations with Cuba.* The national insults and aggressions of Spain frequently recurring and never fully stoned for—the restless character of American adventurers—the existence of wide-spread conspiracies in Cuba—the plans for emancipation, and the plots of European powers—all admonish that *the tangled web of Cuban affairs must soon*, if not unravelled, in all probability, *be cut by the sword of war.*

"The rapid increase of the North in federal numbers, the *multiplication of anti-slavery States and Territories, and the prospect of a continual agitation of the question of slavery*, render the future acquisition of Cuba a most desirable, if not indispensable, measure *for the protection of Southern interests.* That its purchase or acquisition will be the *great question in the Presidential campaign of* 1856, we entertain no question, unless prevented by the gross incompetency and wretched mismanagement of the present Administration. The South [illegible] and already, in [illegible] National Democracy have boldly avowed their advocacy of the [illegible]."

4. Then, again, the African Slave Trade begins to be renewed from American ports. It has never wholly ceased. Boston ships are captured on the coast of Africa filling with men. They are captured by British cruisers ; the American sloop of war on that station has other fish to fry. Southern newspapers openly call for the restoration of the African slave trade ; and a Boston minister, not daring to speak right out, has sneakingly recommended it, in a parenthesis. Some American merchants have been engaged in this trade, and have been brought before the authorities in this city, within the last six months. One came to trial and was convicted. Was he ever punished? I have never heard of any sentence passed upon him, and I do not see how the American Government (I do not say with

success he will meet, I know not; time will show.

These, ladies and gentlemen, are the six steps; they are very dangerous steps too; every one a great advance of slavery over freedom; over your freedom and my freedom; for, as my coloured friend, this morning, said, when there is slavery in the land over the black man, there cannot be any complete freedom for the white man; not in the South, not in the North, not anywhere.

III. Now I come to the third point, the Relation of the Political Parties to Slavery.

For any great national movement there must be three things: First, a Sentiment, the feeling of the thing; next, an Idea, the thought of the thing; and then, a Deed—that is, an action of the thing, incarnating the thought, making the sentiment the life of the People. In order to accomplish that, there must be parties. Now, a party is a provisional organization of men uniting together for the purpose of taking the idea and enacting it into laws, making it a part of the institutions of the country, so that it may be borne on with the momentum of the nation, and have its place in the historic development of the people. When once the new idea is enacted and set going, the party dies, or ought to die, for its party function is to couple its new car, freighted with party notions, to the national train, and then leave it in the charge of the executive engineers and conductors, who have the general supervision of all freight that passes on the railroad of the nation. So a political party, provisionally organizing an idea, represents a tendency, and there must arise as many such parties as there are great Ideas in the consciousness of the people struggling for mastery.

Now, here are four political parties to be spoken of.

1. Let the Free Soil party include all those who, up to 1852, acted by political means to accomplish an anti-slavery purpose. That includes the Liberty Party, and other small parties that resorted to political action hostile to slavery. This is their idea: To cut off the Federal Government from all connection with slavery or responsibility for it; to make freedom national, leaving slavery to be sectional in such States as would have it so. The Free Soil party has done much service. In 1848, it made a fair fight in the Presidential contest, and it gathered a great many votes. In Massachusetts, it did one service which alone would justify its existence if it had never done anything else. It sent Charles Sumner to the Senate of the United States (applause), It did other good things, but that one is worth all the party has ever cost.

Now, the Free Soil party—it is not so bad as dead, and yet it is a great deal worse than asleep; it is in a state of suspended animation. It may be resuscitated if certain circumstances take place. I say no more of that at present.

2. Then there is the Whig party; that has for its central idea the Conservatism of money and the protection of property acquired, and especially property in manufacturing establishments. It is now out of power; it is out of repute; its power is gone from it; its reputation has vanished. It is not dead; it is not in a state of suspended animation; it is in a very cold, frozen sleep; it is fast asleep, and it is very cold in its hands, cold in its feet, and cold in its head. There is a little dim life flickering about where its heart once used to be (laughter). Now and then it turns over very heavily, because it dreams in its sleep (laughter). I will tell you what it dreams of: of the United States Bank (laughter), and of the Tariff of 1842 (laughter). Then it draws a long sigh at each of them. Then it dreams that the Union is dissolving, and very soon the United States will go down and fall through, and, instead of one and thirty independent commonwealths, there will be an enormous hole in the continent (laughter). Dreaming of that, and seeing that great hole, it startles in its sleep, and, being frighted, "swears a prayer or two and sleeps again" (laughter and applause). All its great men are dead—stone-dead. Daniel Webster continues to lie at Marshfield, disappointed and dead. Henry Clay continues to lie at Ashland, disappointed and also dead. Mr. Seward is by far the ablest Whig in the country (applause), the most powerful, the most statesmanlike, the farthest sighted, a man of noble instincts and of generous conduct, who has done very eminent service against our common enemy. He is the only Whig that has got any future before him (applause). But what can he do with the party?—a warm, live man tied to a frozen party. What can the party do with him?—a sleeping, frozen party fastened to a live man. He stood in its way once; now the Whig party lies, fast asleep, in his way, frozen stiff and stark like [illegible] here his road to honourable office and to manly ambition. I may have occasion, if there is time, to speak of Mr. Seward again. All this which I say is true, and you know it to be true, and I thank you for the applause which you have bestowed on a man who, in the Senate and in the Governor's chair, has done so much honour not to himself only, but to the great State he has represented (applause).

In 1850-'51, '52 and '53, when the Whig party was in power, it was the party of slavery, not because it loved slavery itself; it has not loved slavery as such, nor freedom as such; it loves money; and slavery and freedom it loves only as a means to that end. But now its special function has ceased. Property in America is perfectly safe; it always was safe, because it rests on a natural basis. It is not very easy to turn over the Rocky mountains, for they rest on the broadest part of them. But if the Rocky mountains were turned bottom upwards, rested upon their pinnacle and not their basis, a single touch would set them all going; but when they rest on their basis and not their pinnacle, there is not power enough in the world nor all its earthquakes to turn them over. So the property of the United States stands on the securest basis; its centre of gravity is supported; nowhere else is it so broadly bottomed or so well held up. Manufacturing property, which the Whig party takes under its special favour, requires no support, because there is no diversity of idea between the Whig party and the Democratic party in respect to manufactures or anything else. Only slave property is in danger.

The Whig party, just now, represents no ideas; it is in the condition of a nice, large mill-pond, with a dam very high, very wide, very perfect, with a flume and gateway admirably made, and mill-wheels of the best structure, and all the machinery having the greatest names stamped thereon, but not one single drop of water in the pond, the stream which used to feed it absolutely dry, and no prospect of an answer to the oft-repeated prayer for rain (applause). That is the condition of the Whig party.

3. Next is the Democratic party. The ideal function of *a* Democratic party is to represent the substantial rights of human nature against the accidental priveleges of human history; and such *the* Democratic party of America appear to the foreigner or immigrant on landing; hence the attachment of foreigners to this party. But the actual Democratic party represents no such thing. It has American prejudices in the most intense degree; it represents the strength and animal appetites of the nation; it is a party of adventurers and is fond of war. The Whig party is Old America, rich and respectable. The Democratic party is Young America, with its fortune yet to make. The American political democrat is a fillibuster; he will engage in the African slave trade and steal men with his own hard rough hand, and does not care if it became bloody. The American political Whig only steal men under the Fugitive Slave bill. He does not lay his own hand on them; he gets Mr. Commissioner Curtis and Kane to steal them for him. He does not engage in the African slave trade; "it is counterband"; he engages in the American slave trade, which "pays just about as well and does not involve so much risk." That is the odds between the Democrat and the Whig.

Just now, the power of the Government is in the hands of the Democratic party, so that is the corruptest of the two. It always appears so simply because it is more open-mouthed and open-handed.

There are always two executives in the nation, though it is commonly thought but one—the Presidential and the Senatorial. Just now the Democratic party controls both these executives, which differ in many matters. The Senatorial executive is commonly the strongest, and baffles the Presidential executive. It does this now. The Presidential has all the responsibility, while the Senatorial has most of the honour. But, diverse in their general politics, they agree perfectly in the matter of slavery; they are one in that. The Democratic party, in its Senatorial and Presidential executives, has formed every one of those six steps which chronicle the constant advance of slavery over freedom.

In respect to slavery, the Democratic and Whig party also are agreed. They have no diversity of idea upon any fundamental question. Accordingly, in 1852, the Whiggiest Whigs of the Whiggiest town, at the advice of Daniel Webster—the greatest of all Whigs, and the very incarnation of Whiggery, Whigism itself in the flesh—went over from Gen. Scott's brigade to Gen. Pierce's division, and delivered their ballot against their old friends, and in favour of their former foes; and they did it without changing a colour or altering a principle, because, in all great matters, there is no diversity between the Whig and Democrat.

The Democratic party is not in a state of suspended animation; it is not dead; it is not asleep; it is very wide awake, and very strongly at work for slavery. One day, if the Whig party wakes out of its sleep, in which it has been dreaming of slavery, it will go to work for slavery; it will unite with the Democratic party; and as they have been one in slavery, so they will be one in policy, and make a great Hunker party—the party of slavery. So much for that.

4. There now remains a fourth party; that is the Know-Nothings—the American party. At present, this party is quite heterogenous; it has not Unity of Action like the three others, except negation, to oppose the two dominant parties, Whig and Democratic. It has no Unity of Idea or Sentiment; it has no internal cohesive power of Interest which holds a nation together, or opinion which unites several parties together; and if opposition were withdrawn from it, it would fall to pieces. It does not stand upon its own legs now; it is held up by external props, the sleepy Whig party one prop, the wakeful Democratic party another. It has, however, the might of numbers.

The rise of this American party is so remarkable and exceptional in American and Anglo-Saxon history, that I must pause upon it for a moment.

In the heart of its Northern founders there was a profound love for the democratic institutions of America. In this it differed from the Whig and Democratic party, whose leaders did not care a snap of their finger and thumb for the democratic institutions; that is notorious to all such as are in their secrets. This is the idea in the mind of the founders of the American party, namely: Our democratic institutions are in danger; they are attacked by foes with hostile ideas. The hostile force is, first, the Foreign Immigrants in America; and, next, the Roman Catholic Church in America.

That was the idea in the mind of the founders of the party; at least, that seems to be the idea. They said thus: There is an American people that consists of white Americans, born on the spot—native—Americans and not adopted; there must be no grafting of the foreign scion into the American stock. Accordingly, no foreigner must have political place and power. That is one thing.

Then they said: There is an American Church; it is a Protestant Church, with a free mind, a free conscience, a free Bible, a free meeting, a free minister; therefore, there must be no Roman Catholic placed in power.

Both of these notions are old enough; they are sufficiently American; they are Anglo-Saxon; for no tribe of men had ever such intense, exclusive nationality as the Anglo-Saxon, and none has ever so bitterly and violently opposed the Roman Catholics as Anglo-Saxons. Thereupon the Anglo-Saxon, Briton and American are perfectly agreed; Puritan and Episcopalian are alike in this.

1. The founders of the American party seem to have been mainly honest men, who love fair play. They were disgusted with the Whig and Democratic party, with the conduct and character of such men as Calhoun, Webster, Clay. Besides, they were irritated by the appointment of foreigners to office, and the conduct of such men as Soulé, Belmont, and their coadjutors. Besides that, they were alarmed at the insolent behaviour of the Catholics in America, their hostility to schools, newspapers, ballot-boxes and democratic institutions in general, and the favour which this wicked hostility and insolence of the Catholics met with from political men. They saw, or might have seen, that there was not a Catholic priest in the whole United States who was eminent for anything above Catholicity; that in the whole body of some two thousand priests, there was not a man, who was distinguished as a poet, historian, as a man of science, of morality, or of philanthropy—not one single man amongst them all. They [illegible] power which the clergy have over the Catholic laity, and then which the worst politicians of America have over the Catholicy clergy and through them over the Catholic laity. They were very much disgusted, irritated and alarmed.

These founders of the American party commenced by breaking right square off from the Democratic and Whig party. It is the first step that costs; this was a great step. They organized themselves with astonishing skill. I am amazed at the adroitness with which the preparatory organization was commenced. They did it privately; their secrecy was the only thing that was not American, was not Anglo-Saxon, was not consistent with our ethnological instinct or our national history; but circumstances made it convenient. The Anglo-Saxon, Briton or American is an above-board man. He does not like to work in the dark. The American party started under ground, began in darkness and secrecy, as if it were plotting rebellion or getting up a conspiracy. Circumstances made this convenient. They had these two *shibboleths*: "No Catholic in power"; "No Foreigner in power." About these two focal ideas they drew that elliptic ring which was to take in and embrace the whole party they were to form. Such was the Programme of Principles. If you asked for further Principles beyond these, or for proposed Measures, the answer was, I KNOW NOTHING!

Another thing remarkable about it was, it was not set going by the political managers; it sprung up from the bosom of the People. The founders thereof were carpenters, printers, blacksmiths, masons; they were not what are eminently called "educated men." It was eminently popular in its origin, though very anti-Anglo-Saxon in its secrecy.

Begun is half done. The feeling of the North was adverse to the Whig and Democratic party. The function of the Whig party had been got through with; that of the Democratic party was abandoned, and a wicked function took its place. Both parties represented wicked ideas: Conquest for slavery; restoration of slavery to the North—making Boston Bay into a Gulf of Guinea; suppression of trial by jury; persecution of free speech; Freedom must be invaded and slavery established. The wicked "great men" of these parties disgusted the sober men of the North. The people looked back upon the succession of Presidents for the last fifteen years—very small men—Harrison, Tyler, Polk, Fillmore, Pierce. It was small at the beginning, and yet it tapers off (laughter). They remembered Washington, Jefferson, John Quincy Adams and Jackson, and they did not like to have the line of Presidents come to a vanishing point, as it had pretty nearly done in President Pierce (laughter). They looked at the rapid strides of slavery and trembled a little, lest democratic institutions should fail in America; so they joined the American party. Men who cared very little for its formal ideas, men who hated what was hostile to democratic institutions, not Catholics as such, not foreigners as such, they saw the party rising; and if no one knew much about it—which they were sorry for—no one knew anything against it, and that is more than could be said of the Whig and the Democratic party. Their secrecy made it a little mysterious, and everybody wanted to look in and see what was behind the curtain. They wanted to "see the elephant" and went in to look.

Now, you will say, why did n't such men join the Free Soil party? Here is the reason: Its programme of principles are admirable for a provisional party; it embraces some of the ablest men in the country, as well as the noblest. There are few heads as able and very few hearts as noble, as clean and as pure as that of Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio (applause). I need not mention others. But the Free Soil party wanted immediate success. It could not wait for triumph until its idea had spread; so it must conquer then. Accordingly, it nominated Mr. Van Buren for President. I need not say anything about him. And in the various States it coalesced with the Democrats and Whigs, wherever they would agree with it. In short, it struck hands with anybody who would help it take hold and lift up its burden. Accordingly, in Massachusetts, a Democrat voted for a Free Soiler, whose principles he hated, and a Free Soiler voted for a Democrat, whose principles he hated. Both did a thing which was false in order to accomplish that purpose which he thought was good. This nomination of a man so badly damaged as Mr. Van Buren, this coalition with the worst enemies of the Idea of Freedom, were two evil measures, very evil measures, indeed, it seems to me. But wiser men thought otherwise.

Now, the Free Soil party had not any long history to appeal to; from which it could say, these measures are exceptional, and these two dark acts stood out in bold relief, in ghastly blackness on the clean white principles they had set up. Thus the Free Soil party lost its hold on the conscience of the people of the North; it fell off from public confidence and sober men, who had lost confidence in the Whig and Democratic party, and lost it also in the Free Soil party, and joined the Know-Nothings in hope of something better. Many of the old Free Soilers went over to the new party. Sometimes the generals went over. One of them stood here last night (Mr. Wilson), a very valiant general too (applause). I thank you for the abundant applause, and I hope by and by he will have won a title to even more eminent applause. Expect some mistakes from every man; and he would pardon me, if he was here, when I say, expect some mistakes from Gen. Wilson. But expect always a good heart and manly counsels. If he is not faithful, hold him to strict account. A good many of the rank and file went over, though there was a portion of the people who did n't; they had got tired of lying on one side and wanted to turn over, and did n't care very much whether right or left.

That was one reason why the new party gained a great many persons. And so far it was very well, bating the secrecy, which I do not like; bating the hostility to foreigners and to Catholics, which I do not share at all. I am no Catholic; I think there is not a man in the United States who is more opposed to the fundamental principle—individual subordination to external authority—of the Catholic Church than I am; but I should be ashamed to ask any right or exercise any right which I would not grant to any man and woman in the whole world (loud applause).

2. So far it was very well. Next, corrupt men came into the American party; not many wicked Democrats; their party, being in power, could easily feed and support them, having had rack and manger for that kind of cattle. But the Whigs, who were tied up to post hay, wanted to break into this new stable (laughter). So, evil-minded Whigs went in, soldiers of fortune, adventurers, men who were not only know-nothings in intellect and required to conventional "qualification" to "initiate them into the party, but who were know-nothings in conscience. I know some such men—privateering Democrats in 1812 who had become kidnapping Whigs in 1852, and had missed the Democratic tide in 1853, and threw themselves into this stream in hopes that something might turn up which they could cling to. These men went in for the spoils. It was amusing to see what crowds of this sort went in; for the Know-Nothing tornado, while it swept down the Whig party and swept over the Democratic party, swept up a great quantity of straw, loose bushes, idle leaves, rotten litter and miscellaneous rubbish which lay scattered on the surface of the country; it lifted it up in its great whirl, and it now bears it in its bosom, and alas for the country where it shall deposit that rubbish (laughter and applause). In some States it was men of this stamp who controlled the party; it seems so in your own State of New York, which I do not understand very well; while in other States men of a higher stamp preponderated. In Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire even, Connecticut, Vermont, Ohio and elsewhere, anti-slavery men controlled the party.

But in the South, these two negative ideas—hostility to Catholics and to foreigners—are still the only cry; and, so far as I can learn, South of Mason and Dixon's line, anti-slavery is just as much hated by the Know-Nothing party as by the Whigs and Democrats. The strife there is not between ideas of freedom and of slavery; it is between a party that is out and wants to get in and a party that is in and does n't want to get out (applause). What has Virginia to fear from "foreign influence" or from "Roman Catholicism"? Nothing at all. The Catholicism of France or of New Mexico, it would be an improvement over the Protestantism of Virginia. [illegible] Bibles to New Mexico, and he says there is one man out of fifty, in Mexico, who can read, and the Society had better send him a Bible. Now, in Virginia, beside the illiterate white men, there is a very large class who cannot read the Bible, and there is a law prohibiting their being taught to read it. The Catholicism of New Mexico does n't prohibit any one there from learning to read it if he can; the Protestantism of Virginia does. But, perhaps the Virginia Protestant Know-Nothings are afraid some priest will teach the descendants of Jefferson and Madison to read the Bible. Of this, I *know nothing*.

Here I ought to state a fact respecting Southern Know-Nothings. Atchison, of Missouri, is a Know-Nothing; Gen. Stringfellow, who is the Hercules of the pro-slavery party that is now invading Kansas, is a Know-Nothing. These are both *very eminent Know-Nothings*. And let me say, besides, that there is not a Know-Nothing newspaper South of Mason and Dixon's line that opposes this invasion of Kansas by the Missourians. Therefore, I say, Slavery is just as much in favour with the Southern Know-Nothings as with the Southern Democrats and Whigs.

But in the North, just now, the chief thing of the Know-Nothing party is freedom and humanity. They are not opposed to foreigners or Catholics as such, but they are opposed to slavery, and I do not think opposition to Catholics will ever go down in New England; certainly not against foreigners, for every man that ciphers the matter out knows that the annual crop of immigrants to this country is worth a hundred million of dollars to the country, and I do not think the Know-Nothing party is going to refuse a hundred millions of dollars for the sake of this foolish idea of hostility to foreigners. Its hostility to Catholics, I think, will not last, for, in Massachusetts, the "Nunnery Committee" will make the American party a little ashamed of taxing the Catholics with *Jesuitry*; for if it is a good thing to look after Catholic institutions, it is not a very good thing to commit the oversight of a nunnery into the hands of a —— I should not like to pronounce the name (hisses from some of the audience). You have got it exactly (laughter). I should not like to put it into the hands of a man whose name cannot be uttered without suggesting a *Hiss* (applause).

The American party North has done great service against slavery. It has beat the Administration in fifteen pitched battles; it has routed it in every State. Daniel Webster said there was "no North," and a few years ago there was none. In 1851-'52 and '53, you could not find any. When we looked out for it from Bunker Hill and cheered, we could find only a thin bank of cloud and fog, which a slave-trader sailed through and made nothing of. But, in 1854, we saw land and took courage, and, in the latter part of that year and the beginning of 1855, there sprung up a north wind, which was as cold as the hard winter of 1780; it smote the Whig party, so that it fell on its face, and lies there still, prostrate and asleep; not a Whig stirring in all New England, in the middle States or the West. It blew upon the Administration, it beat upon that sandy-founded house, and it fell, and great was the fall thereof. For the seven months past, the Presidential captain of the Democratic Executive has got up every morning early, or late, and looked out at the weather with rather a wry countenance, and has put down in his political log-book, "High winds from the northward" (laughter). He may tack and veer as often as he likes; he cannot beat up against it; and every time he wears ship, he falls off from the popular wind, drifting away to the leeward, where Captain Tyler, and Fillmore, and the rest of that part of mankind, have gone into darkness (laughter). Just now, a great stormy blast has come down from New Hampshire, as cold as Mount Washington itself; it shivers his topsails, it cracks his yards, and makes all his timbers groan; lest his fabric go to pieces on mid ocean, suffering a most dreadful wreck, he looks far off towards his own New Hamphire, and sees threatening and very near at hand a great storm of *Hale* (great laughter and applause).

But the American party is still heterogeneous; it has no unity of idea or of sentiment, and it can have no unity of action for any length of time. It is now as much divided as that old town-meeting at Ephesus, whereof some cried one thing and some another, and the more part knew not wherefore they were come together. So some of its anti-slavery men have to apologize a little and to hesitate. Now and then they have to make explanations of their conduct. It is plain they have a divided allegiance. The Know-Nothings South are as much in favour of slavery as the Whigs or Democrats; in the North, hostility to slavery does not appear to come from the ideas of the Party, only from the private opinions of individual members; that wing of the party took anti-slavery *collaterally*, and attends to it incidentally, not as a purpose of the party.

Some of the leaders of the Know-Nothings hope to possess the Federal offices in 1857—to elect a Know-Nothing President, who shall be so strong in character and public favour that he can control the Senate, with its Whigs and Democrats. These are their means to that end: To shout the old cry against Foreigners and Catholics; and to ignore the matter of slavery altogether.

If this experiment be made, see what is sure to follow. Deserting the moral idea, they lose their hold on the conscience of the North, lose Northern confidence, Northern votes, just as the Whigs have done, and incur the bitter wrath of all the anti-slavery men in the nation. Opposing Catholics and foreigners, as such, they will force this powerful element into the ranks of their opponents. Then where are the Know-Nothings, with the Conscience of the North against them? Aiming at nationality in *this way*, they seem likely to lose what they have already won.

But if they wish to resist what is hostile to democratic institutions, not foreigners as such, not Catholics as Catholics, but both only so far as hostile to freedom, then, as slavery is, above all, the deadly foe of all our best institutions—of the free school, the free press, the free church, free Bible, free ministers, free speech—hostile to popular forms of government, as it invades the ballot-box, and destroys trial by jury—so they must oppose slavery as the chief enemy of the nation, and organize about the Idea of Liberty. It is plain there must be an Anti-Slavery Party. In the present condition of the Free Soilers, Whigs and Democrats, nothing is to be hoped from them. Will the Know-Nothings become Know-Somethings? Will "SAM" become "Jonathan"? Perhaps so.

Then see what follows. First, they get every anti-slavery man in the South, and they form by no means a contemptible body. They furnish a secret rallying point at home for the disaffected anti-slavery men in all the Southern States. Second, they carry with them, I suppose, all the political anti-slavery men in the Northern States. That they may do, and thereby they will organize, if they see fit, a great Anti-Slavery party. That remains for them to do—to organize about the American idea that all men are created equal, with certain inalienable rights.

The Know-Nothings now have an opportunity to establish a great Anti-Slavery party, which shall embrace all these men of the South and all those men of the North. The party has now the power of numbers to do this, for it has defeated the Administration, it has prostrated the Whigs, and it can nominate a strong anti-slavery President, if it will. Has it the political wisdom to do this? Has it the political justice? Gentlemen, I have my fears; ladies, I have hopes. Mr. President, it not necessary I should say which of these preponderates—either the hope or the fear. But, in some States, the Know-Nothing party has done most valuable service. In Massachusetts, it is eminently strong. See what it has done: No exclusive coloured schools; the coloured children shall go into any school (applause); Jury trial restored in the plenitude of its magnificent power; strong laws passed punishing kidnapping; no use of our jails, no use of our Courthouses for kidnapping; swift punishment against any Massachusetts man who shall undertake to lay his hand on any man, on any evidence, and declare that he is a slave. Then by what a majority did the House and the Senate declare that, for violating the first principles of justice in Massachusetts law, Judge Loring should be turned out from his office (applause). That is what the party has done in Massachusetts. It has brought together a Legislature in which there are only six persons who are not members of the American party. Massachusetts is an old State; it is a rich State; it is a well-educated State; it is a Legislature which represented so small a proportion of the money of the State; never one which represented so small a proportion of what is called the "superior education" of the State—what men get at colleges and other equivalent institutions; but we never had a Legislature with so much justice, so much humanity, so much love for mankind (applause).

IV. But there is one party more, not directly political, but moral, Anti-Slavery party, whereof this platform is the exponent. Its Idea is Freedom everywhere, Slavery nowhere; keep God's Law of Nature, down with the Devil's. The function of this party is more elementary than that of the others. Positively, it is to waken the sentiment of Freedom, of Right, of Justice towards all men; to diffuse the Idea thereof; to make the proximate formation whence political parties shall one day grow up and represent the anti-slavery sentiment, and enact its Ideas into institutions and laws, making Freedom the life of all the American People. Negatively, it is to criticise political institutions, parties, men. It asks no office, no reward, not even a good name; but it is thankful for a good audience—such as it has this day, when it rains listeners!

This party is indispensable. It is of Women as well of men, for the moral sentiment whence this party has grown up is most of all diffused in the feminine heart. If the chief action must be of manly hands, if the idea has been mainly elaborated in the heads of men, the Feeling out of which it all came belongs more to Woman; thence on this platform—and here alone—you hear the voice of woman. If man be the father of Democracy, woman is also its mother.

This party will always be at variance with false politicians, corrupt legislators, unjust judges, immoral editors, wicked ministers. It will unmask the Benedict Arnolds and the Aaron Burrs of the political parties. With dreadful eyes, it will study all prominent men; it has a "terrible memory"—its justice, like God's lightning, no respecter of persons—only following the Eternal Law of God. But all honest, just, honourable men of all sects, all parties, all such as are faithful to the True and Right, it will honour as no other party ever has or can. What terrible words it had for Webster and Clay, yet mixed with pity; what denunciations for apostate ministers who would make Jesus of Nazareth only the Saviour of Bondage, sent to preach the gospel of kidnapping to America, and make a Hell of Slavery on the Earth! But what words of lofty cheer has it given to John Quincy Adams, to Giddings, Horace Mann, Hale, Palfrey, Chase, Seward, Sumner—to every noble minister of whatsoever sect!

The time is now favourable for the diffusion of this sentiment and idea. The ceaseless aggressions of the South, the lust for land to plant slavery in, the attacks on Mexico, Central America, Nicaragua, Hayti, Cuba, the threats of violence and war against Spain, make the North sensitive; the Fugitive Slave bill irritated the North as nothing ever did before; it subjects all the Christian virtues to fine and imprisonment. Von Humboldt is right in telling the young American students, "You will find nothing so bad in the tyrannies of Europe!" The Nebraska bill enraged men; the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Fugitive Slave bill showed that the South had no political morality—the Nebraska bill that she has no political honour. I knew it before. All the judicial attacks on the rights of the People, by the Scroggses whom the Government puts into its Fugitive Slave bill Courts, only fan the flame. Mr. Booth in jail at Milwaukee, Mr. Sloan in jail at Sandusky, are arguments which a Yankee must attend to. The continual kidnapping of men in Northern cities touches the people as with a red-hot iron. Ten thousand men went from the country to Boston to see the Curtises kidnap Mr. Burns; it took $13,000 worth of "citizen soldiers" to enslave one man. One day the ten thousand will come to Boston with other arms besides what Nature gave. The attempt to restore the African slave trade, the invasion of Nebraska, all this blew the trumpet with a not uncertain sound. The civil war is begun; now it is of Words—will it always be so? Not if we are faithful now. Five years hence, it will be too late. Rest assured of this—Freedom is not to be put down!

One day there will be a great American Party—of men who know something of Freedom, of natural Right—a great Southern party, who know nothing of either, only how to get slaves. The sooner these two parties are organized, the better. In 1848, there was an opportunity for the Whigs to take the political initiative in this movement. But they would not. Mr. Webster forbade. Mr. Clay forbade. The party set its eye on Money, legislated for Money, worshipped Money—the American Trinity—the cent, the dollar, the eagle. In 1852, the Democrats had another opportunity to do the same, and, with the power of a great political momentum, to inaugurate the American Idea of Freedom, the inalienable Rights of Man. But they wanted the luxury of oppressing the poor—they must go fillibustering against Spain; they must feed the insatiate mouth of the stealers of men. Now a better opportunity forces itself on the American Party. Will they throw it away? Then are they KNOW-NOTHINGS indeed—they will soon be DO-NOTHINGS, and presently BE-NOTHINGS. Let them take the initiative in this movement for the natural Rights of Humanity, and what a noble work they begin!

Ladies and gentlemen, I have spoken a great deal too long already, and I will pass over much that I would gladly say if there was time, but forbear, that you may listen to wiser words set in handsomer speech than it is in my power to offer you. I will only say that this is what I propose as a programme and basis for agitation.

I. Abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia and in all the Territories of the United States, and repeal the Fugitive Slave Bill.

II. Abolish the American Slave Trade on the sea, making it piracy.

III. Declare that hereafter no slave State shall ever be admitted into the Union (applause).

IV. Declare that no man who is at present or who prospectively may be an owner of slaves shall hold any office under the Federal Government (applause).

V. Reconstruct the Judiciary system; for the Supreme and District Courts are, after the American Church, the very strongest fortress on which slavery relies. Abolish the present judicial system, reconstruct it, and put in Judges who have got the American idea of justice to all men.

VI. Declare that, at a day certain and fixed, Slavery shall cease in every State, or that State shall cease to be a member of this Union (applause).

That is the basis on which we may go to work and agitate. Let the Know-Nothings do their work, and we may have a great political party, and the great question before the people in the Presidential election of 1856 will be the Slavery question. Shall we have a President who favours despotism—a Russian, a Turkish President?—or shall we have one who believes in the American idea that God has created all men equal, and endowed each with certain inalienable rights, which this Government is to organize and protect for every man (applause).

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1855.

New England Anti-Slavery Convention.

THE Annual Meeting of the NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION will be held in Boston, on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, May 29, 30 and 31, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. It usually surpasses, in interest and spirit, every other Anti-Slavery gathering in the country, and is characterized by the strongest utterance, the freest discussion, and the most stirring eloquence. The cause of the enslaved calls for an attendance, at this crisis, unprecedented in numbers. Every State in New England should be well represented. The friends of Immediate Emancipation, in all parts of the country, however widely they may differ in their methods for the overthrow of slavery, are most cordially invited to be present, and to participate in its deliberations.

In behalf of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. FRANCIS JACKSON, President.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Recording Secretary.

THE SOIL OF FREEDOM...I.

SOMETIME the last Summer, in a series of Editorial articles originally contained in the *Boston Courier*, afterwards republished in a pamphlet and circulated to some extent, our soil is consecrated to Freedom. But is it consecrated to Freedom for *all men?* What consecrates it to Freedom at all? Is it not so consecrated by *the Law?* And is it not consecrated just so far as the Law has impressed that character upon it, and no farther? We presume that this will be admitted by all." The assertion, its limitations, and the qualifying interrogations, refer in particular to Massachusetts; but, with slight modifications, if any, they might be extended to all the States usually denominated Free.

The first thing which may be noted in this passage is the conception which it involves of the Law and its powers. Evidently the writer means the Constitutions of the State and of the Union, and such local statutes as agree with these Constitutions and with the constitutional enactments of the Federal Government. Behind the Law thus understood, he certainly does not expect the private citizen or the civil officer to look for the rule of his action in anything supposed to belong to his political relations and duties. By consequence, in a republic or commonwealth—in a virtual, if not a formal, democracy, such as each of our States is—Law is synonymous with the Will of the people expressed in imperative statute. Sir William Jones, in his celebrated paraphrase—not translation—of a fragment of Alcæus, puts this conception into poetic form. Men, high-minded men, he represents as constituents of a State:

> "And sovereign Law, that State's collected will,
> O'er thrones and globes elate,
> Sits Empress."

Should the effect be made to detach Law so conceived from popular will, on the ground of a distinction between the people and the State, between men, even of high soul and of a dominant majority, and the commonwealth which they constitute, the answer is ready. As matter of unquestionable historical fact, the Constitution and Statutes of the several American States and of the Union can be traced directly and readily to the will in which they have their origin and which they express. There are but two steps in the process. Men, high-minded or otherwise, constitute the State; the collected will of the State is acknowledged and established as Law.

To this must be added, that the Law so conceived is declared to be the precise and only power by which a State is made sacred to Freedom. Now, drop the phrase, or rather translate it into its synonyme, and substitute for the interrogations the answers which they are meant to imply. What have we then? "Undoubtedly, our soil is consecrated to Freedom. But the consecration is by no means universal; it is limited to a portion, not extended to the whole compass of mankind. So far, moreover, as thus consecrated, it is by the will of the people, the collected will of the State. Just so far as the popular will has impressed this consecration to Freedom, the consecration extends; farther than the popular will embodied in its statutes has fixed such impression, it does not reach. The soil remains unconsecrated."

As matter of fact, we may let the statement pass uncontradicted. It is historically true that the nominally Free States are, by the deliberate action of their own wills, limited in their consecration to Freedom. It is, sorrowfully we must confess it, their "collected will," their accepted law, that slaves, wherever arrested in their flight from bondage, may be retaken; they have chosen to make their soil not sacred to Freedom, but open to the violence and the tyranny of American despots. It is a dark page in history; but it is written, it cannot be expunged.

The question, however, is not one of history. We have to do, not with the mere lifeless fact, but with the living idea, the eternal and immutable law. Looking through that to the facts existing at this instant in our country, we may well be amazed. Looking through that to the arguments which ground themselves on these facts, which strive to make the worse appear the better reason, our amazement may be doubled. That a man or a State should persist in a grievous wrong, when the wrong is discovered—that a man or a State should gather the elements of a perceived outrage into our compact system, concentrating every thought and every power to strengthen the accumulated lawlessness against the growing might of conscience, of justice, of humanity; presents a darker and more monstrous aspect to one original sin. To exclude from our communion multitudes, whom only our rapacity brought into neighbourhood with us—to shut them out from the common protections of justice, empowering individual wills to govern and possess them; to guard our own tranquillity by making them unable to disturb it; to drop their interest and happiness entirely from the general welfare; to leave on them and their posterity the curse of slavery, strengthening the tyrant, weakening the slave; this of itself is bad enough, base enough, impious enough. But to go on and turn this impiety into a thing of traffic; to make a bargain by which we sell our power to support the right in exchange for pecuniary profit, then call the nefarious compact Law, binding and authoritative Law; this adds insult to injury. A majority of the male inhabitants of the United States, arrogating to themselves the claim of being the people of those States, established a Constitution: such was their will. They declared as objects, establishment of justice, insurance of domestic tranquillity, provision for the common defence, promotion of the general welfare, security of the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity. The people, we are told, established this Constitution; so it is simply, we repeat, their will. Mark, by the way, the falsehood implied in the first word. Of the people, of the full-grown, male persons—we will not here touch the question of including the women—a large proportion were wholly and from compulsion silent. Of the people of the United States, thousands upon thousands were shut out from all debate; the same thousands were repelled from the ballot; those thousands, now multiplied to millions, were unrecognised, save where some provision for oppressing them could be thrown in with a shame which suppressed the word describing them, or indirectly they might be helped by prohibiting such increase of their numbers as might proceed from importation. Consciously, deliberately, wilfully, the people of European descent assumed to be the people of the United States. The people of African descent—what were they: Articles of merchandise. If Constitutional Law be simply the enacted will of the people, then, surely, it should be the will of the people, not of a class or classes of the people. The people of the United States, as a whole, have never yet established a Constitution. The claim is false in history. Identifying ourselves with the ostracised and oppressed portion of the people, we may say, "We have no Constitution. Our consent to one has not even been asked. Neither voice nor vote of ours has had anything to do with making or unmaking your institutions. Whatever allegiance is due to them on the ground of voluntary compact, belongs to the parties making the compact; we are not parties to it; we are aliens under it; we are as foreigners; nay, we feel it as an engine of oppression."

This by the way. But the direct issue lies before us. The collected will of the people or the State, that is what they pronounce Law; that is to millions of the American people, not what it sets forth as its objects, but rather the reverse, actual injustice and oppression. It protects Slavery against Freedom. It desecrates the soil to slavery. It is claimed to enforce the demand of the tyrant seizing his victim. And popular will as it is, lawyers agree to support its supremacy, and preachers declare it of divine authority, and scholars enforce it by their learning, and multitudes of all conditions and degrees of culture yield to it acquiescence at the least, if not reverent homage. Nay, beyond these practical falsehoods, the one identifying Law with Enactment of Will, the other demanding submission to that Will as duty, we have a third infusing its curse into the very soil we tread. That soil is constituted free, not by the creative power, but by the action of human will. Humanity, we had learned long ago, does not ensure the recognition of its inborn freedom. No change of its soil and sky, we are taught now, betters its estate; nothing makes man or land free but legalized will.

NULLIFICATION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

MASSACHUSETTS—God bless her!—has taken a position, at last, which promises to give us one FREE STATE in the American Union. She has begun a revolution by legislative nullification, which must inevitably bring on a conflict between her laws and the laws of the Federal Government, provided she has an Executive firm enough to carry out her own acts. By the act to secure personal liberty to every person within her jurisdiction, she meets and defies the General Government precisely where such defiance strikes the most deadly blow at the Union, and ensures, as an inevitable result, either that she goes out of the Union, or that the Slave Power yields the domination which hitherto she has held undisturbed, and almost unquestioned. But who hopes for that? We, for our part, certainly do not. A despotism never did, and never will, fall at the first blow; and it is idle to hope that the rampant Slave Power of this country, in the very zenith of its strength and its glory, will lay down its [illegible] has dared to set it at defiance. Massachusetts has declared her will; she has next to assert it. She will probably have the opportunity as soon as an occasion can be found for it.

The "Personal Liberty Bill," as it is called, has been before her Legislature for some time past, and a few days since was passed, and sent to Governor Gardner for his approval. That, for certain alleged Constitutional objections, and fortunately, as the result proves, it did not get. The final passage of the Bill, in the face of the Governor's veto, renders that act the more emphatic, and will help to convince the South that the people of Massachusetts are determined that no slave shall ever again be taken from her soil. That such is their determination, we think, can hardly be questioned, in view of the sixth section alone of the Bill, which we copy

ples may be not guilty, and the jury shall have the right to return a general verdict, and the same discretion as juries have in the trial of criminal cases; and the finding of a verdict of not guilty shall be final and conclusive.

Sec. 5. The Court or Justice before whom the writ of *habeas corpus* is returnable shall, unless a jury is already in attendance, by warrant, command the Sheriff of the county, or his Deputy, to summon a jury in the manner provided in the twenty-fourth chapter of the Revised Statutes, to attend at the time and place stated in the warrant, at which time and place they shall be impannelled, and, having elected a foreman by ballot, the issue so framed shall be put to them for their determination. In case one jury shall disagree, the issue may be submitted to the other jury, or continued to the next term, at the discretion of the Court. And in every case of disagreement, another jury may be summoned and qualified as above provided, forthwith or at a future day, in the discretion of the Court or Justice before whom the writ is returned, until a verdict shall finally be rendered upon the issue. If any person summoned as a juror, as aforesaid, shall fail to attend without sufficient cause, he shall pay a fine of fifty dollars And if, by reason of challenges or otherwise, there shall not be a full jury of the persons summoned, the officer attending the hearing shall return some suitable person or persons to supply the deficiency.

Sec. 6. If any claimant shall appear to demand the custody or possession of the person for whose benefit said writ is sued out, such claimant shall state in writing the facts on which he relies with precision and certainty; and neither the claimant of the alleged fugitive, nor any person interested in his alleged obligation to service or labour, nor the alleged fugitive, shall be permitted to testify at the trial of the issue; and no confessions, admissions or declarations of the alleged fugitive against himself shall be given in evidence. Upon every question of fact involved in the issue, the burden of proof shall be on the claimant, and the facts alleged and necessary to be established must be proved by the testimony of at least two credible witnesses, or other legal evidence equivalent thereto, and by the rules of evidence known and secured by the common law; and no *ex parte* deposition or affidavit shall be received in proof in behalf of the claimant, and no presumption shall arise in favour of the claimant from any proof that the alleged fugitive or any of his ancestors had been actually held as a slave, without proof that such holding was legal.

Sec. 7. If any person shall remove from the limits of this Commonwealth, or shall assist in removing therefrom, or shall come into the Commonwealth with the intention of removing or of assisting in the removing therefrom, or shall procure or assist in procuring to be so removed, any person being in the peace thereof who is not "held to service or labour" by the "party" making "claim," or who has not "escaped" from the "party" making "claim," or whose "service or labour" is not "due" to the "party" making "claim," within the meaning of those words in the Constitution of the United States, on the pretence that such person is so held or has so escaped, or that his "service or labour" is so "due," or with the intent to subject him to such "service or labour," he shall be punished by a fine not less than one thousand nor more than five thousand dollars, and by imprisonment in the State prison not less than one nor more than five years.

Sec. 8. Any person sustaining wrong or injury by any proceeding punishable by the preceding section may maintain an action and recover damages therefor in any Court competent to try the same.

Sec. 9. No person, while holding any office of honour, trust or emolument, under the laws of this Commonwealth, shall, in any capacity, issue any warrant or other process, or grant any certificate, under or by virtue of an Act of Congress approved the twelfth day of February, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, entitled "An Act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the service of their masters," or under or by virtue of an Act of Congress approved the eighteenth day of September, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty, entitled "An Act to amend, and supplementary to, 'An Act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the service of their masters,'" or shall, in any capacity, serve any such warrant or other process.

Sec. 10. Any person who shall grant any certificate under or by virtue of the Acts of Congress mentioned in the preceeding section shall be deemed to have resigned any commission from the Commonwealth which he may possess, his office shall be deemed vacant, and he shall be forever thereafter ineligible to any office of trust, honour or emolument, under the laws of this Commonwealth.

Sec. 11. Any person who shall act as counsel or attorney for any claimant of any alleged fugitive from service or labour, under or by virtue of the Acts of Congress mentioned in the ninth section of this act, shall be deemed to have resigned any commission from the Commonwealth that he may possess, and he shall be thereafter incapacitated from appearing as counsel or attorney in the Courts of this Commonwealth.

Sec. 12. The two preceding sections shall not apply to removal from judicial office; but if either of the actions there specified shall be performed by any person holding judicial office under this Commonwealth, it shall be considered as a violation of good behaviour, as well as a reason for loss of public confidence, and as furnishing sufficient ground either for impeachment or for removal by address.

Sec. 13. Any sheriff, deputy sheriff, jailer, coroner, constable or other officer of this Commonwealth, or the police of any city or town, or any district, county, city or town officer, or any officer or other member of the volunteer militia of this Commonwealth, who shall hereafter arrest, imprison, detain or return, or aid in arresting, imprisoning, detaining or returning, any person for the reason that he is claimed or adjudged to owe not less than one thousand and not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment in the State prison for not less than one nor more than two years.

Sec. 14. The volunteer militia of this Commonwealth shall not act in any manner in the seizure, detention or rendition of any person for the reason that he is claimed or adjudged to be a fugitive from service or labour. Any member of the same who shall offend against the provisions of this section shall be punished by fine not less than one thousand and not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment in the State prison for not less than one nor more than two years.

Sec. 15. The Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Council, shall appoint in every county one or more commissioners learned in the law, whose duty it shall be, in their respective counties, when any person in this State is arrested or seized, or in danger of being arrested or seized, as a fugitive from service or labour, on being informed thereof, diligently and faithfully to use all lawful means to protect, defend and secure to such alleged fugitive a fair and impartial trial by jury, and the benefits of the provisions of this act; and any attorney whose services are desired by the alleged fugitive may also act as counsel in the case.

Sec. 16. The commissioners shall defray all expenses of witnesses, clerks' fees, officers' fees, and other expenses which may be incurred in the protection and defence of any person seized or arrested as a fugitive from service or labour; and the same, together with the reasonable charges of the commissioners for their services as attorneys and counsel in the case, shall be paid by the State Treasurer, on a warrant to be issued by the Governor.

Sec. 17. No jail, prison, or other place of confinement, belonging to or used by either the Commonwealth of Massachusetts or any county therein, shall be used for the detention or imprisonment of any person accused or convicted of any offence created by either of the said acts of Congress mentioned in the ninth section of this act, or accused or convicted of obstructing or resisting any process, warrant, or order, issued under either of said acts, or of rescuing, or attempting to rescue, any person arrested or detained under any of the provisions of either of said acts, nor for the imprisonment of any person arrested on *mesne process*, or on execution in any suit for damages or penalties accruing, or being claimed to accrue, in consequence of any aid rendered to any escaping fugitive from service or labour.

Sec. 18. All the provisions of law as to the writ of *habeas corpus*, heretofore existing and in force, so far as applicable, and so far not hereby changed, shall apply to the cases arising under this act.

19. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to apply to so much of the Act of the twelfth of February, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, as relates to fugitives from justice.

Sec. 20. All Acts or parts of Acts inconsistent with the provisions of this Act are hereby repealed.

Sec. 21. This Act shall take effect from and after its passage.

To sections 13 and 14, the following amendments were made:

"Sec. 13. No person who holds any office under the laws of the United States, which qualifies him to issue any warrant or other process, or to grant any certificate under the Acts of Congress named in the ninth section of this Act, or to serve the same, shall at the same time hold any office of honour, trust, or emolument, under the laws of this Commonwealth.

Sec. 14. Any person holding any judicial office under the Constitution or laws of this Commonwealth, who shall continue, for ten days after the passage of this act, to hold the office of United States Commissioner, or any office under the laws of the United States which qualifies him to issue any warrant or other process, or grant any certificate under the Acts of Congress named in the ninth section of this act, shall be deemed to have violated good behaviour, to have given reason for loss of public confidence, and furnished sufficient ground either for impeachment or for removal by addre s.

TORONTO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—The *Toronto* (Canada) *Globe*, of the 8th instant, contains a full report of the proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Society of that city, at its Annual Meeting on the preceding Thursday. The report of the Committee, which was presented and read by the Secretary, Mr. Henning, speaks in hopeful and cheering terms of the aspect of the Cause in Canada, and especially as relates to fugitive slaves. To render aid to this, in one sense unfortunate, in another fortunate, class of persons, is one of the chief purposes of the Toronto Society, and it is, as we know, very faithful to the trust. The funds which it collects are chiefly used in that direction, though, doubtless, as the Committee seem to think, much more might be collected, by proper effort, to be expended in the dissemination of Anti-Slavery truth. For fugitives alone, the large sum of £1,100, or $5,500 has been sent to the Society from Great Britain.

Addresses were made at the Anniversary by several gentlemen, all of whom were faithful and uncompromising in their testimony against the great sin of this age and country. A reader on this side the Line can hardly fail to be struck with the difference that Line makes, when he observes that among the speakers, on such an occasion, in Canada, are to be found the names of men standing high in Church and State, who, were they in corresponding positions in the "States," and were to say the same things, would be branded as infidels and fanatics, and condemned to a forfeiture of social standing. The Union denies to our Doctors of Divinity, and Members of Legislatures, unless they are made of different stuff than usually goes to the making of that class among us, the luxury of saying what they think and feel, or, at least, of thinking and feeling as they ought.

We may, perhaps, in some future number, give some extracts from this report, but at present we have only room for the resolutions, which were advocated by Dr. Barnes (of the Free Church), P. Brown, Esq., late M.P.P., Dr. Fyper (Baptist), Dr. Willis, Rev. Mr. King, Mr. Henning and others:

"Resolved, That we continue to regard slavery everywhere, and especially in the United States, to be inhuman, unscriptural, and opposed to the civilization of man, as well as the peace and well-being of society, and therefore demanding the uncompromising hostility of all who desire the promotion of the eternal principles of truth and justice, and the civil rights and liberties of mankind.

"That we view with indignation and alarm the attempts that are being successfully made for extending and perpetuating the curse of slavery over new territories, accompanied, as these are, by outrages upon the liberty of the person, freedom of the press, and purity of the ballot-box.

"That, as Christian men, we deplore the policy of the larger portion of American Churches and religious organizations, on the question of human slavery—a policy which prevents them, in the great majority of cases, not only from speaking and acting on the side of freedom, but, in numerous instances, compels them to become advocates and apologists for that which contains 'the sum of all villanies.'

"That we admire the self-denying labours of the minority, both in the Church and in the State, who desire the total and immediate abolition of slavery in the United States; and as the cause of liberty is one the world over, seeing that it concerns the happiness of man and the destinies of the human race, we pledge our sympathy with fugitives from bondage, and our cordial cooperation with all of every nation who are the friends of the slave."

CUBA AND THE ADMINISTRATION.....NO. VIII.

It is proper to revert for a moment to a general remark in the second number of these papers, in respect to the absence of flagrant instances of slave-driving cruelty in Cuba. It was based, in part, on the statements of the late Rev. Abiel Abbott, D.D., of Beverly, Massachusetts, a much respected authority; and upon the book of Mr. Ballou, the latest author visitor of the island. He is a valuable negative witness, his specialty being to disparage Spain, to whet the keen appetite for plundering her, and to canonize those fillibusters who had the bad luck to receive at her hands what they deserved at the hands of all mankind; for, in the language of the law, they were *hostes humani generis*. If, therefore, he omits to charge Spaniards with any infamous atrocity, it is quite certain that there existed not the slightest pretence for it.

Dr. Abbott's words are: "I believe the lash is seldom applied. I have never seen it." Mr. Ballou says: "There are, doubtless, instances of cruelty towards the slaves, but the writer is forced to acknowledge that he never witnessed a single evidence of this during his stay in the island." And, in view of the mildness of Spanish slavery, he expatiates upon the exaggerated notion which "ignorant persons" have of "the practical evils" of slavery; and, finally, solves the problem of the remarkably good treatment of Cuban slaves, by the summary interrogatory: "What man would under-feed, ill-treat or poorly care for a horse that he expected to serve him, in return, promptly and well?" Neither writer alludes even to a report of any distinguished act of inhumanity to a slave.

David Turnbull, Esq., late British Consul and Protector of Liberated Africans at Havana, who travelled over much of the island, examined a great number of plantations, and appears to have investigated the condition and treatment of the slaves with more minuteness than any other writer, mentions two instances of fatal punishment, of which he had been informed. One of them occurred on an estate, which had long had a bad name throughout the country. In each case, the overseer charged with the crime was tried, and, as Mr. Turnbull believed, unjustly acquitted. The fact of a trial constitutes a great point of difference betwixt *there* and *here*, where they would not have been tried at all. The laws of North Carolina and the *Constitution* of Georgia authorize the killing of slaves "by moderate correction";* and if the other American slave States have not the same law written on their statute books, it is written on the backs of their bondmen. We States, and, on whatever spot we passed and made inquiry, *we never failed* to hear of one or more instances of inhuman and fatal violence to slaves *within the vicinity*. In no State of the Union are any of the persons in whose presence punishments are inflicted competent to testify in any case where a *white* person is the party. Under Spanish law, the Judges have a discretionary power to receive the testimony of slaves, whenever, in their opinion, the ends of justice require it.

Thus we have qualified the general proposition to which we have recurred in this place, because, at the time it was written, the two cases of cruelty mentioned by Mr. Turnbull had escaped our particular notice.

And now we will put the capstone to the whole discussion of Cuban slavery and slave trade, in comparison with those of the United States, by presenting some comprehensive views, derived from sources which, we think, neither friends nor foes will venture, or, indeed, desire, to impugn.

From Lundy's Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1827.

"The state of slavery in the Spanish Colonies is not so extremely oppressive as in either the French, Dutch or British."

"Slaves may obtain their liberty by purchase, but the master is not allowed to fix an arbitrary price; but if he and the slave cannot agree, two appraisers are named, one by the master and the other by the protector of slaves (*Capitan del Partido*), and the judge names the umpire."

"The law exempts these sales from the six per cent. duty (*alcabala*), attached to all other sales."

"The law which so eminently favours the slave does not neglect his offspring. A woman slave may emancipate her unborn child for twenty-five dollars; and between birth and baptism the infant may be emancipated for fifty dollars.

"To the honour of the island be it said, this is the branch of the laws which is best and most impartially administered."

"It is highly advantageous to the slaves that public opinion is favourable to granting them their liberty; and *all respectable men would feel ashamed to throw obstacles in the way of their becoming free.*"

From Dr. Abbott's Letters from Cuba, 1829.

"Nor is it difficult for a smart and saving negro to accomplish the means [of self-emancipation]. Food is furnished to them so abundantly by their masters, that the fruits of their own garden may be converted into money. A certain method is to raise a hog, which they can do to a large size, by corn of their own growing. I have seen swine belonging to slaves, worth two or three ounces (forty or fifty dollars), and there are purchasers enough without their carrying them to market. Live hogs are at this moment sold here at eight dollars per hundred on the hoof. At any rate, negroes make money, and some save and bury it, and, at an early period of life, may buy their freedom. This very week, a splendid funeral was made for a black woman, who paid for her freedom, and has left behind her $100,000, collected by her industry, and also an amiable and respectable character. From my chamber window I look down upon a family of freed blacks, who are my laundresses. They sell admirable spruce beer and I know not what else; and the daughter amuses herself, and the family and the neighbourhood, by singing, with a sweet and powerful voice of great compass, and accompanies her singing by the guitar. All this I rejoice to see and hear. *And I would hide my face for shame*, that, in some of our republican States, a statute forbids manumission, even where the owner is disposed to grant or the slave to purchase the blessing" (p. 98).

"Never, I hope, will this island throw difficulties and barriers in the way of a respectable slave, resolved honestly to work his way to freedom. I deeply lament that freedom is made impracticable in one, if not more, of the States in our Union, by a public law. Let not the despotism of Spain, more relenting and merciful than men rejoicing in freedom, and in the sacred creed that 'all men are born free and equal,' spread blushes over any part of our country" (p. 99).

"Mr. M., the sensible proprietor of this estate,† thinks that slaves are in a more favourable situation in this country *than in our own*; that they work no more, have a more varied and comfortable fare, and can, if they please, easily work out their freedom. They have certain privileges, as much land as they choose to till well, and the whole produce to sell, in corn or pork, or what they please" (p. 57).

From the Report of DeToqueville to the Chamber of Deputies on Emancipation in the French Colonies.

"It is a matter of public notoriety in the New World that slavery has always had among the Spanish a character particularly mild. Indeed, we shall be convinced of this by running over the ordinances passed by the sovereigns of Spain at a period when the slave codes of all the European nations were so deeply stained with barbarity. The Spaniards, who showed themselves so cruel to the Indians, have always treated the negroes with singular humanity. In their Colonies, there has been much less distinction between the two races than in others."

*Constitution of Georgia, Art. 4, Sec. 12.

† An emigrant from South Carolina.

In the course of these numbers, if we do not deceive ourselves, we have shown:

1. That emancipation is open, by law and established practice, to all slaves in Cuba, and to none in the United States.

2. That reading, writing and the acquisition of knowledge, are free to the slaves and provided at the public expense for the free coloured in Cuba, but are prohibited to both, under cruel penalties, in the United States.

3. That the food of slaves is pleasant, diversified and without stint in Cuba, but neither of these in the United States.

4. That punishment is not frequent, and, according to the evidence, seldom fatal, in Cuba, but is very frequent, often fatal, and, *by express law*, is permitted to be so, in the United States.

5. That there is and can be no internal slave trade, and no separation of kindred, in Cuba; but that these barbarities prevail to an awful and increasing extent, and form the most afflicting part of the system, harsh and dreadful as the rest is, in the United States.

6. That if a slave is cruelly treated in Cuba, he may resort to the Slave Protector and magistrate, and obtain a sale of himself to a better master, and, in aggravated cases, his entire release from bondage, but that in the United States he has no refuge but the grave.

7. That Cuban slave trade is under the ban of law, and of treaties with the greatest maritime and anti-slavery power in the world; that all other maritime powers, *except the United States*, are leagued with Great Britain to banish it from the Ocean; that, by the operation of those treaties, it is reduced to about one-fourth of what it formerly was, and that what remains of it is probably carried on, in the main, by the merchants, ship-builders, ship-owners and seamen of the United States, from the ports of New York and Baltimore. Since we discussed this part of the subject, there have been public indications that it is also carried on from Philadelphia and Boston. It would be surprising if the merchants of one or two cities were permitted to enjoy a monopoly of profitable crime.

8. That, under these circumstances, and considering the peculiar infamy of the *American* slave trade, the admonitory and correctional tone assumed by the Fillmore Cabinet, and the fillibusters *extraordinary* of Ostend, is the romance of humbug, surpassing any of the adventures or performances of Barnum.

9. That the United States did not, in fact, abolish the foreign slave trade until 1820, but that their acts professing to do so aggravated its cruelty, by raising in the unhappy captives hopes destined to be dashed.

10. That the policy of this country in respect to foreign slave trade has been, for the most part, hypocritical and inhuman, except at short intervals, when it has been weak and vacillating; that the official seal and the national escutcheon and colours have been sold by sordid Consuls, chiefly of Southern origin, to cover the slave-trading pirates of all nations, and this with the knowledge and connivance of the Government, thus making our Republic accessory to one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of crimes.

11. That, at the same time, the said Government, in contempt of the spirit of its treaty engagement at Ghent, and to the entire defeat of the object thereof, declared that "under no condition, in no form and with no restrictions, would the United States enter into any convention or treaty, or make any combined efforts of any sort or kind, with other nations, for the suppression of the traffic," because, forsooth, "the jealousy of the slaveholders was roused."

12. That our squadron on the coast of Africa, so long as the right of visitation and search, which all other nations are ready and anxious to concede, is not employed by it, is merely an expensive masquerade.

13. That over-work and deprivation of necessary sleep and rest on the sugar plantations, during the manufacturing season, are the causes of the greatest suffering and constitute the most systematic and destructive cruelty, both in Cuba and the United States, but that the latter so much excels as to inflict a mortality of *five per cent.* per annum beyond that of Cuba, which excess alone is more than *three times* the ordinary mortality among men!

14. That such depopulation of American sugar and other plantations is a subject of rejoicing to pious and devout slave-generators and human-flesh-jobbers, because it keeps up a market, which perpetually yawns for new victims, and thus renders the demand at the human-stock farms of Virginia and her sister States so "very constant."

15. That this is what maintains the American slave trade, which, upon the whole, is now the slaves are obtained, and whose children a large portion of them are, is decidedly the most unnatural, unclean and infamous under the sun.

16. That our Government systematically and anomalously conceals important facts concerning American slave trade, which are known to be in its possession.

17. Wherefore the effect of the proposed robbery of Spain, in addition to the intrinsic and God-defying depravity of the deed, will be to aggravate immeasurably the sufferings of the Cuban slaves; to substitute a viler, more rigorous, permanent and probably more extensive slave trade; to augment and eternize American slave-breeding and human-flesh-jobbing; and, in respect to the free coloured people of Cuba, to turn a demi-paradise into an entire pandemonium.

D. L. C.

ERRATA.—In No. 7, for "demolished," read *demolishes*, "Christian," *Chastain*, "Nerres," *Verres*. In the sentence "How will it be if the untimely and untoward wishes of our friends are not realized," omit the word *not*.

LETTER FROM A. M. POWELL.

To the Editors of the Standard.

SINCE my last letter, I have held additional meetings in Essex and Clinton Counties, of which I will give you a brief account.

At Jay, Essex Co., I held a satisfactory meeting. The Methodist minister, Rev. Mr. Osgood, opened the meeting with an eloquent prayer in behalf of the slave. It was the regular evening for the Methodist prayer-meeting, which, through his influence, was adjourned, and all attended our meeting. It is too often the case, in the experience of anti-slavery lecturers (at least it has been in my own), that Methodist ministers, and those of other denominations, together with the "*prominent*" members, if they have not already a regular meeting appointed, after our meetings are announced, they manufacture an opportunity to pray, and to praise God, while they are careful to forget their brethren in bonds, and, meanwhile, succeed, to some extent, in keeping their members from attending our meetings and from falling under our influences.

At Ausable Forks, Essex Co., I held a very good meeting, notwithstanding the efforts that were put forth to make it a failure, by the Know-Nothings, who circulated the absurd report that it was my mission to advance the interests of the *Pope*, under the garb of anti-slavery! and who, like their brethren elsewhere, in this State at least, desire to ignore the slavery question, by proscribing the Abolitionists, and by remaining in union and harmony with men-stealers and cradle-plunderers, quietly acquiescing in their diabolical and nefarious schemes and measures.

Subsequently, in Clinton Co., I held very good and satisfactory meetings at Clintonville, Schuyler Falls, West Peru, Union, Plattsburgh, Mooer's Village, and Champlain.

I cannot now give a detailed account of the above meetings; suffice it, for the present, to say that they were, for the most part, very well attended, and, considering the fact that it was ten years, or thereabouts, since there had been any of our kind of labour bestowed upon that field, there was a gratifying interest manifested by the inhabitants of nearly all the places where meetings were held.

The meeting at the Union was held in a Friends' meeting-house, belonging to the Peru Monthly Meeting, at the head of which is our friend Samuel Keese. This meeting, I believe, stands alone, within the limits of the New-York Yearly Meeting, as having officially uttered its voice in protest against the pro-slavery proceedings of the Yearly Meeting at the time of the merciless and unchristian persecution of Isaac T. Hopper and others, on account of their anti-slavery labours, in connection with the American Anti-Slavery Society; and it also, at one time, took some official action in regard to the correspondence between George P. White, of pro-slavery and anti-reform notoriety, and Oliver Johnson, and in this too, I believe, it stands alone, as a Monthly Meeting, within the bounds of the Yearly Meeting. The influence resulting from its action on those matters, and from the fidelity of its most influential members to the anti-slavery cause, has not been wholly lost, in disturbing, as it has done to some extent, the *guilty quiet* of other members of the firm in which, as a part and parcel of the Yearly Meeting, it is a partner.

I am much indebted to B. F. Smith, of West Peru, for his kind cooperation in my labours, and also to Stephen K. Smith, of Peru, who is an earnest Abolitionist, and is much interested in the progress of the human race.

To Samuel Keese I am specially indebted for his kind hospitality, and his valuable services, in coöperating with me, both by word and deed, throughout my labours in that field.

Yours for the Slave's redemption, A. M. POWELL.

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, May 21st, 1855.

MESSRS EDITORS: Though the STANDARD has not had a letter from me for some weeks, owing to causes which need not be mentioned, I have not forgotten the tender which I made you, of a brief account, from time to time, of the passing events pertaining to our locality, bearing on *the* question of the day—*Liberty vs. Slavery.*

Liberty, in this "issue," I make the *plaintiff*; because, being the injured party, she alone has the right to complain. Yet, to hear the howlings and anathemas which reach our ears from Missouri, and other dark regions of the South, we might almost be led to believe that she was the aggressor, and that poor unfortunate Slavery was being sadly imposed upon, if not threatened with an ejectment from some homestead—obtained by fraud or forcible entry.

She is, however, receiving aid and comfort from the doings of the Syracuse Convention of "Know-Nothings," who, it seems by the *Richmond Whig*, are pledged to support the rights of the States (South), and our *Natives* are trimming their sails to catch the Southern breeze. Letters from travellers in the South, published in the *Daily Sun*, overflow with eulogies on Southern scenery and upon the affability of the chivalry and their kind treatment of the slaves, who are a happy and contented race: maugre the fact of blood-hounds being kept to hunt them up when seeking to escape from all this kindness—the ungrateful scamps!

We are also having, in what may be termed the political creed of the *American party*, the old State cry of *No North, no South, no East, no West*, just at the moment we had hoped that all the political parties were becoming sensible of the existence of a *North*, though they had long been painfully impressed with the assurance of the existence of a South. We are to have the *National* Convention of the party in our city, and, in order to *Nationalize* it satisfactorily to the South, the agitation of the "slave question" is to be "ignored," and "devotion to the Constitution and the Union" substituted therefor. Verily, they are anxious to walk into office in the "footsteps of their worthy predecessors," the Whigs and Democrats. How successful they will prove in their wishes, time will determine, or as Father Ritchie would have it, *Nous Verons.*

In our late municipal election, we had the singular spectacle of "old line" Whigs and hunker Democrats uniting, and other strange "fusions" for the sake of office, or in revenge for former defeat, and the result, though leaving *Americanism* in the majority, came very near being what military men term a drawn battle, at which we may have cause to rejoice, for it is not good for any political party to possess unlimited power.

In the religious world, we have had the Annual Meetings of several Societies, within the past and present month, and ought to glance at their transactions. The *Orthodox* branch of Friends' Society held their meeting last month, and, so far as outsiders are permitted to know what passes in conclave, they were principally engaged in the consideration of certain doctrinal points, or matters of faith and discipline, which have been tending to produce schism and division in the Society, under the appellation of Gurneyites and Wilburites. Great as our respect may be for this Society, we are not to presume that they are materially different from most other religious denominations; "Church Unity" being generally viewed as a more pressing call than the requirements of humanity, we need not be surprised, therefore, if, in the anxiety to reconcile conflicting parties, the cry of the slave has not been heard, or, if heard, but slightly responded to.

In the, so called, *Hicksite* Meeting, which adjourned last week, we are informed that the cause of the slave was very fully and earnestly reviewed in the "Women's meeting" and received such attention in the Men's meeting as to cause the oppressed to look hopefully to the future, as indicative of a "better time coming."

The Episcopal Convention for this diocese has also just terminated its labours, having adjourned on last Friday, after having refused, to its credit be it spoken, to admit the Church of St. Peters of Pittsburg, under charge of the Rev. Mr. Vandusen, to fellowship and representation in the Convention, because that [illegible] meeting of liberty-loving persons, seeking the removal of slavery. "The whole theological [illegible] proceedings, infidel and orthodox, relevant and irrelevant, occupied but a small portion of its time, at least far less than in the 'Correspondent's' somewhat one-sided account of the meeting. We cannot agree with Mr. French and the 'Cincinnati Correspondent' that Anti-Slavery as well as other reforms are indebted to the churches for their success. On the contrary, we are of opinion that we are more indebted to the churches than to any other organization for our *want of success.*"

The *Bugle*, we hope, is right in its view of the matter, and that the influence exercised by the Convention was more in accordance with the impression that it made upon the mind of the editor of that paper than with that received by our Correspondent. They are, of course, equally honest in the statements they make respecting it.

The Ins and Outs of Paris, or Places by Day and Night. By Julie De Marguerites. Philadelphia: Published by Wm. White Smith, 195 *Chesnut street.* This is a sprightly and interesting book; not profound or philosophical, but full of lively descriptions and giving a very fair idea of some of the most prominent features, social and otherwise, of Paris and the Parisians. The writer seems to have enjoyed rare opportunities, for one of her sex, for seeing what she calls the "Ins and Outs" of that gay capital.

THE PICKWICK PAPERS.—T. B. Peterson, No. 102 Chesnut street, Philadelphia, is republishing the whole of Dickens's works, in a cheap uniform edition, and, from a copy of *Pickwick*, complete in one volume, which he has sent us, we see that cheapness is not to be the only merit of the enterprise. It is printed in good style and on good paper, which is no common praise for a Philadelphia book.

Summary.

Barnum announces that his exhibition is to be for white babies, not coloured ones. Coloured mothers ought to be thankful that they are not to be made liable to the temptation of engaging in the disgusting affair.—*Boston Telegraph.*

CLOSING OF THE LIQUOR SHOPS.—So far as we can learn, all the retail liquor shops of the city, the hotels and recesses, have closed bars, and nothing in the shape of wine, liquor, ale or beer can be purchased in quantities less than five gallons, unless it be for the Maine Law objects.—*Rochester Union, May* 10.

SLAVEHOLDERS' PLANS IN KANSAS.—From rumours that have lately reached us, we are led to infer that the Atchison mobocrats never lose sight of the spoils. They have laid out the town of Calhoun, K. T., to which place the Legislature elected to their bidding will adjourn and establish the seat of government, and expend the $25,000 appropriated by government to erect public buildings, when the nullifiers will sell out and make their fortunes before the people of Kansas can right themselves in the premises.—*Madison Democrat, May* 10.

CITED TO WASHINGTON.—Mr. S. M. Booth, of the *Milwaukee Free Democrat*, has just been served with a notice or citation, signed by Chief Justice Taney, to appear before the U. S. Supreme Court at Washington, on the 1st of December next, in pursuance of a writ of error issued by that tribunal, to show cause why the judgment of our State Court in his favour—in the so-called habeas corpus case—" should not be corrected." Mr. B. intimates, rather decidedly, that it won't be convenient for him to go on any such Quixotic expedition.—*Madison (Wis.) Journal.*

AN ACT OF JUSTICE.—The *Detroit Inquirer* states that W. H. Goodwin, a citizen of Richmond, and a native of Virginia, has been stopping at the Michigan Exchange during the past week, and left there last evening for home. He brought with him four slaves, two of whom are children, their mother, who is married to a free coloured man, and their grandmother, who was his own nurse in infancy. He gave them their liberty, and bought a house and lot, for $800, on Macomb street, which he deeded to the old woman, and left $100 to their credit in bank. This is but an act of justice; still as the world goes, especially the Southern part of it belonging to us, it is a deed that deserves honourable mention.

WELL SAID.—In the debate in the Senate, on Friday, on the question of calling upon the Council for the record of their acts in the matter of the removal of Judge Loring, Mr. Hall, of Plymouth, referred, at the close of his remarks, to the salute fired in honour of the veto. He said, in substance, that he was grieved at the disturbance of the deliberations of the Senate, the day previous, by that salute. Those guns were said by the newspapers to be fired in honour of the "independence of the Judiciary"; but he affirmed that they vomited forth their thunders in gratulation on the victory of Slavery; and he believed that the same persons who caused them to be fired would also turn them on the people of Massachusetts, should they make insurrection against the Slave Power.—*Bost. Tel.*

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD—CAPTURE OF FEMALE SLAVES—THEIR PURSUER IN A FISH-BOX.—Two passengers in this train were last night arrested by the vigilance of Captain Michau, of the night police. It seems that every arrangement had been perfected for the purpose some days ago. Captain Michau was advised of it, and knowing the point, which was the South Market, from which they were to start last night, secreted himself in a fish-box and waited their arrival. Shortly afterwards they appeared and were immediately nabbed by him. Both were females. One of them, Sophia, slave of Mrs. Perry, had $110, which she acknowledged she had taken from her mistress; the other was a slave of Mrs. Perkins. The arrangement, it seems, was to cross at Duncan's Island, in a skiff, thence to Illinois shore, where white agents were in waiting to conduct them to their negro paradise, Chicago. —*St. Louis Republican, May* 15.

MR. WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, THE LECTURER.—There is a possibility that Mr. William Wells Brown may visit Canada at no distant day. Mr. Brown is thought by men of sound judgment to be the most powerful speaker among the anti-slavery coloured men of the States. He does not confine his lectures exclusively to the important subject of slavery. During a five years' residence in England, and since his return to America, he has lectured on a greater variety of subjects, before Societies, Lyceums, and promiscuous audiences, than any other of the men of his class. Should Mr. Brown come to Canada, people could not pay a more deserved respect to an able and an earnest worker than they would have the opportunity of doing by getting up meetings of the citizens generally, and otherwise welcoming him.—*Provincial Freeman.*

THE FRIENDS OF MILLARD FILLMORE IN THE FIELD.—The leaders of the old line Clay Whigs, and a few of the leading friends of Mr. Fillmore held a secret meeting in this city, on Friday evening last, at Constitution Hall, for the purpose of devising the means necessary to place themselves in communication with the Southern friends of Mr. Fillmore, and to secure for the ex-President the Know-Nothing nomination in 1856. Among those present at the meeting on Friday night last, was the Hon. John P. Kennedy, of Baltimore, who, it will be recollected, was a member of Mr. Fillmore's Cabinet. The ostensible visit of Mr. Kennedy to this city, as announced at the time, was to visit our navy yard and the military defences of our harbour. We are not particularly informed as to the deliberations and results of that meeting; but we do know that a new Order was formed within the Know-Nothing organization, being a wheel within a wheel, calling themselves "Templars," and formed with the express object of influencing the entire Know-Nothing party for Mr. Fillmore in the next contest.—*N. Y. Herald.*

FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE IN KANSAS—TRICKS OF THE SLAVEHOLDERS.—The border press are making a considerable noise about a negress, who, it was claimed, the "Abolitionists" of this vicinity had run off and secreted. The incident to which they refer occurred on the 10th of March, and created much excitement at the time. A meeting was convened in Lawrence, at nine o'clock on Saturday evening of the 10th ult., which was numerously attended, to take the subject into consideration.

Various facts were elicited, after which a committee of five was appointed to inquire into the matter, with instructions to report at an adjourned meeting to be held the next morning at 7 o'clock. The committee remained in session till between two and three o'clock the next morning, during which period the following report was drawn up, after listening to a large amount of evidence. The report was submitted to the adjourned meeting, and received the unanimous concurrence of all present, as it had done the committee of investigation.

The matter has not been previously published, as it was thought it might create unnecessary excitement at a time we were labouring to suppress anything of this character.

The resolutions were submitted to the meeting by one of our citizens, and were adopted without dissent.

To the Citizens of Lawrence: The undersigned, your committee, to whom was referred the matter for investigation pertaining to the coloured woman who was charged last night with being a fugitive slave, beg leave respectfully to report:

That a coloured woman, aged about twenty-two years, made her appearance in Lawrence, several days ago, and, on the evening of the 8th inst., applied to Mr. Willis for a passage over the river. She was disguised, and claimed that she wanted to go to Iowa. Mr. Willis told her she could not find the way, and would not consent that she should leave that night. She said she was a free woman from Kentucky, but had lost her papers evidencing the fact. She was kept over night, and in the morning went to Mrs. Litchfield's and made arrangements to remain for a few days.

On Saturday night last, while she was at the spring for water, three persons came upon her, and claimed she was a fugitive from slavery. She was allowed to go to Mrs. Litchfield's, and from thence to Mr. Willis's, where she again made asseverations that she was a free woman. Mr. Willis, when he learned the facts, inquired whether they had authority under the Fugitive Slave law to arrest her. They replied they had not, nor did not want any. He then inquired if they had any authority from her owner.

They said they had not, but, as she had no free papers, it was evident she was a slave; and that they would take her into Missouri and find her master, as they thought they knew who he was. Mr. W. said she should never leave his house under such circumstances; and, closing the door, said no person should enter alive to carry her away against her consent, without authority from her owner, or by legal process.

One of the party then gave directions to bring out a crowd of the "boys" and take her at all events. One of them said to another, "take my horse and ride him to hell, let him die under you, but bring the *boys.*"

Doctor Wood kindly proffered his services as mediator between the parties, and proposed to take the woman into his charge, and keep her for twenty days; then, if the claimants were not able to bring evidence of her being a slave, he would pay one dollar a day for the whole time she should remain with him. This proposition was readily accepted by all parties, and the woman was removed to the Doctor's for safe keeping, and the citizens, who had gathered in large numbers, quietly dispersed.

On reflection, it appeared that the twenty days carried the case to election day; it further began to be surmised that the whole movement was a pretext, got up by pro-slavery persons for the purpose of embroiling the citizens of Lawrence in a difficulty, with a view of inviting in Missourians to commit depredations on our persons and property; and that election day, the 30th March instant, was the time selected for the outrage.

It was then proposed to reduce the time for the detention of the woman to ten days, Dr. Wood consenting to the same. He learned soon after that dissatisfaction existed on the part of some to the latter arrangement, and, for the purpose of avoiding censure, refused longer to be connected with the transaction, and returned the subject of the controversy to Mr. Willis.

The latter gentleman, in the meantime, had learned the whole history of the affair, with the numerous discrepancies in the statement of the woman, which made it appear that she was an impostor, and a tool in the hands of slaveholders for an evil design; that, in fact, she was operating in conjunction with those who came with the pretence of arresting her. Numberless incidents confirmed the evidence, and a chain of circumstances was finally established in his mind which left not a particle of doubt of the correctness of his conclusions.

This conviction induced Mr. W. to refuse to receive the woman from Dr. Wood; but he advised her to go with those who desired to take her away, which she finally did, without showing any emotion whatever, save remarking with *sang froid* that was "would rather go," and all to see that those in pursuit of the pretended fugitive

Miscellaneous Department.

PHYSIC A-FIELD.

Physic was all a-field with the learned two or three centuries ago, and it is so still with the unlearned in our villages and country towns.

Here is a book printed in black letter, which contains nearly eight hundred prescriptions, under the title of "A Rich Store-house or Treasurie for the Diseased, wherein are many approved medicines for divers and sundrie diseases which have beene long hidden, and not come to light before this time. First, set forth for the benefit of the poorer sorte of people, that are not of the abilitie to goe to the Physicians." The book was published upwards of two centuries ago, and marvellous as its ideas may now seem to educated people, it is proper to state that few of them are altogether obsolete, that at least every one can be matched with some notion of its kind that will look quite as absurd in the light of existing knowledge.

Physic a-field did not overlook even the blades of meadow-grass. And who that took note of the grass would overlook the little modest, crimson-tippit flower which a good modern poet has characterized in a tooth-breaking line as:

"Fringed with pink-tipped petals piled."

"Take a good quantitie of small daysies," says Master Blower, author of the Treasurie, "and boyle them in a little faire running water, and straine them, and let the patient drinke the juyce thereof and it will cure him of the ague."

Such being the strength of dasies, of course primroses assert their power. It was not the fault of the simple gatherer of the poets talked of The rath Primrose that forsaken blooms; by him, at least, its blossoms were sought after. Power of primroses blown into the nose through a quill, is recommended by Master Blower, as a certain cure for stoppage in the nose and head resulting from a cold.

When a man feels weak in the back let him "Take a quart of aacke, a top of rosemary, winter-sucory, and pennyroyall, of each a like quantitie, ginger and nuttmegge, as much as will burn the wine; then take two new-laid egs, yokes and all, and temper them with three or foure spoonfulls of red rose-water, and put thereto a good piece of fine sugar, then take the burnt sacke and burn it again with the eggs, and put into it a little mace, and it will be in manner of a caudle, and let the patient drinke this thrice a day (that is to say) in the morning fasting, after dinner, and when he goeth to bed, and this will help him in a short space. For it hathe beene well proved." A sort of thing, in fact, which nobody would be remiss in putting to good proof. Very good stuff to recommend poor people to get themselves, and sure enough to do them good. So is this excellent good jelly to be made and had for one that is in a consumption: "Take a cocke or capon that is new killed, and scalde him and wash him cleane, then take a legge of veale and cut away all the fat from it, and let the cocke and veale lye in water for the space of foure or five houres, and seethe them together in a gallon of faire running water, and as it doth seethe still scum off the fat, untill you have left no fat at all upon it, and let it seeth continually over a soft fire untill halfe the broth bee consumed: then put into it rackt rhennish wine or else white wine, to the quantitie of a pottle, and then let it boyle all together untill it bee come to a quart, and then put therein the whites of three or four new-laid egs, and then clarifie it, and let it run thorow a jelly-bag, and put into it an ounce of synnamon grosse beaten and a pound of fine sugar, and make a jelly thereof, and let the patient eat thereof cold, and he shall receive much comfort thereby. This also good for many other diseases," A quart of jelly made out of a whole leg of veal, a capon and a pottle of hock or moselle—to say nothing of the eggs thrown into it—ought certainly to do a poor man good. Here is a physic, expressly contrived by Master Blower, to relieve the fatigues of working men: "An approved medicine for one that is molten with over much trauell or labour, take a quart of good claret wine and seethe therein a good quantitie of barley, and make a posset with the same wine, and let the patient drinke three or foure times thereof warm (bedwarm) and it will help him."

Ralph Blower looked upon poor people as a rather jolly set of dogs, but he was sorry to think that their health should be sometimes injured by high feeding, and he therefore tells them of some remedies in case of "surfeit"; for example, he says: "Take a good thick piece of white bred and toast it, and then dip the same in aquavite very well, and that being done, apply it to the stomache of the partie grieved, as hotte as possible hee may abide it, and let him be kept very warme, and this will presently help him."

To him who has sore eyes, Ralph Blower, greeting: "Take rotten apples and distill them in a common stillatory, and with the water thereof wash your eyes often, and it will both cleanse and clear your sight."

It is well at the same time to know by what things the eyes are damaged. They are the eating of garlic, onions, and leeks; or too much lettuce, travelling or moving about over much beholding of white and cold air, milk cheese after meat; too frequent blood-letting; coleworts; dust, fire, weeping and watching. Things good for the sight follow, and are "measurable sleep, red roses, vervain, fanuel, celandine, pimpernell, oculus christi, rue, betony; to wash your eyes often with fair running water; to look upon any greene or pleasant and perfect glasse, and to wash your hands and feet very often." As for the washing of the body often, that was too much to ask.

Among things good for the heart are "saffron, cloves, muske, mirthe and gladnesse." And among things "il, for the heart," are "beans, peas, sadnesses, anger, onions evil-tidings, losse of friends," &c. Prescriptions are given whereby "to open the pipes of the heart, being stopped," and also "to comfort the heart that is weak." They are not stupidly conceived, inasmuch as their base consists of "a pinte of sacke, also a pinte of malmesie."

"A rule to know what things are good and wholesome for the brains and what are not. Good for the braines: To eat sage, but not overmuch at a time; to smell to camomill or musk; to drink wine measurably; to sleepe measurably; to hear but little noyse of musicke or singers." Learn, therefore, all people to absent themselves from operas and oratorios, and "to eat mustard and pepper; to keep the head warme; to wash the hands often; to walke measurably; to wash the temples of the heade often with rose-water; to smell to red roses."

"Bad for the braines: To sleepe much after meat; all manner of braines; gluttonie; drunkennesse; corrupt ayres; overmuch watching; overmuch colde; overmuch bathing; late suppers; anger; heavinesse of mind; to stand much bare-headed; milke, cheese, garlicke, onions; to eat overmuch or hastily; overmuch heat in trauelling or labouring; overmuch knocking or noyse; to smell to a white rose."

Our forefathers and foremothers did not go a-field for physic only to find plants. Precious to them was the iuyce of an eel, a hedgehog's fat, goose-grease, the fat of mice, cats, rabbits, moles, and ducks, and doves; precious the fat that lies under the manes of horses. The gall of a goat or eaven, the pith of an ox's back, the milk of a red cow, or of a cow all of one colour, a buck's-horn, the brain of a weazel, the blood of a stock-dove, and the "little bone that is in the knee-ioynt of the hinder legge of a hare, which will speedily helpe the crampe," all belong to Ralph Blower's pharmacy, and are still sought as remedies by many in our rural districts. "A herring that is well-pickled and split on the belly-side, and warmed very hot, and layed on to both the soles of the feet, will helpe an ague."

Also, "snailes which bee in shells, beat together with bay salt and mallows, and laid to the bottoms of ours feet, and to the wristes of your hands, before the fit commeth, appeaseth the ague." "Twenty garden snales, beaten shelles and all, in a morter, until you perceive them to become fo a salue, will both heale a bile and drawe it." "A drop or two of the iuce of a black snale, dropped on a corne, with the powder of sandphere (samphire), will take it away speedilie."

A wine of earthworms, with a little scraped ivory and English saffron will do a man who has the iaundice "marvellous much good." Earthworms are also an infallible test in the diagnosis of king's evil. "Take a ground worme, and lay it aliue upon the place grieued, then take a greene dock-leafe or two, and lay them upon the worme, and then binde the same about the necke of the partie diseased, at night when hee goeth to bed, and in the morning when hee riseth take it off againe, and if it be the king's euil the worme will turne into a powder or duste; otherwise the worme will remaine dead in his own former forme, as it was before aliue." For the cure of hooping-cough, "take a mouse and flea it, and drie it in ouen, and beate it to powder, and let the partie grieued drinke it in ale, and it will help him." For the cure of deafness, "take an hedgehog, and flea him and roste him, and let the patient put some of the grease that commeth from him, into his eare, with a little liquid storax mingled therewith' and he shall recover his hearing in a short space. This hath holpen some that could not heare almost any thing at all for the space of twentie yeares, and yet were helpen with this medicine." Or, "Take a goode siluer eele (if possibly shee may bee gotten) or else some other bright eele, and roste her upon a spitte, and let the dripping of her be kept uery cleane in some earthen vessell, and when you do goe to bed put the quantitie of a quarter of a spoonfulle thereof at a time into your eare, and then stop it up with a little of the wooll that groweth betwixt the two eares of a black sheepe, and the next night following use the contrary eare, as afore is said, and so continue this for the space of nine or ten dayes, and it will helpe you."

The marrow of swine's feet is a cosmetic if applied with the juice of a lemon, cow's milk and rose-water. Master Blower shows also how by the use of compounds similar to these already described, "to take way the pimples and high colour out of one's face, be it never so farre spent and gone"—"to cause one to looke with a faire and goode colour, be hee never so pale-faced and wanne." Gout is cured by an oil got from moles that have been potted and buried for a month. This, too, is "An excellent goode oyntment for the gowt. Take a fat goose and plucke her, and dresse her as if shee should be eaten: then stuffe the belly of her with 3 or 4 younge cats, well chopped into small pieces, with a handfulle of bay salt, and 20 snales, and then sewe up her belly againe, and roste her at a small fire, and saue all the dripping of her, and keepe it for a precious oynment." The use of young cats "well chopped into small pieces," certainly is not extinct among the "poorer sorte of people," but they belong now to food rather than medicine, being not seldom supplied in the form of saveloys.

"A very good medicine to stanch bloud, when nothing else will doe it, by reason the veine is cut, or that the wound is great: Take a toad and drie him very well in the sunne, and then put him into a linnen bagge, and hang him about the necke of him that bleedeth with a string, and let it hang so low that it may touch his brest on the left side neere unto his heart: and commonly this will stay all manner of bleeding at the mouth, nose, wounde, or otherwise whatsoever."

Ralph Blower, who finds "the poorer sort of people" able to surfeit upon claret, sack and capons, is a man able to get blood out of a stone. "Take," he says, "a stone that is white, and hath red veines in it, and boyle it in a quart of new milke, untill one halfe of the milke is consumed, and then let the patient drinke often thereof and hee shall find great virtue therein." A wine made of flint stones he recommends also as a good thing to drink in case of gout.

Potable gold was still remembered as a medicine in those days. This is a "sovereign drink for any infected person," in R. B.'s opinion. "Take a piece of fine gold, and put it into the iuyce of lemmons, for the space of four and twentie houres, and put to it a little white powder of angelica-roots, mingled with white-wine, and let the patient drinke a goode draught thereof. This is a most precious drinke, and it is greatly to be wondored at what helpe and remedie some that vsed this drinke have had thereby, although it hath been supposed by many learned physicians that sicke persons were past all hope of remedie; yet by God's providence they have recovered againe." This was a remedy as good as gold against infection. But, infection being taken, here we are told of an "experienced medicine for the plague." "Take a cocke, a chicken, or a pullet, and pull off all the feathers cleane off the taile, so that the pumpe may be bare, and then hold the bare place to the sore and immediately you shall see the cocke, chicken, or pullet gape and labour for life, and in the end it will dye; then take another cocke, chicken or pullet againe, and do the like, and if the same dye, then take another, and so doe as aforesaid, and let the party grieued be applyed therewith as aforesaid, as long as any of them doe dye."

That is abominable. Now for something horrible.

"It is saide many men have been cured of falling euil (epilepsy) by drinking of the powder of dead men's skulles burnt. The skulle of a dead-man whereon mosse groweth, being taken and washed very cleane, and dryed in an ouen, and then beaten to powder, will cure this infirmitie, although the partie grieued have been troubled therewith many yeares before. But this skulle must be the skulle of one that hath beene slaine, or of one that was hanged, or that came to a sudden death, and not the skulle of one that dyed of any sicknesse, or else by other maladies, growing of long continuance in the head."

By this spectre of a prescription we are fairly frightened out of Mr. Blower's churchyard. It is not a very long way in the churchyard from the daisy to the dead man's skull, and just so deeply we have dug, through snails and moles and worms. Therefore, at least, if for no worse reason, "the Rich Store House" filled by Mr. Blower's wit may be as fairly called a churchyard as a surgery.—*Household Words.*

DRESS.

To the present generation, indeed, of Englishmen, dress is a mere matter of course. It is a necessity to be clothed; but to a large number of "men," the nature and description of their "habits" is a matter of sovereign indifference. The indispensable condition of not being conspicuous once fulfilled, all the rest may be left to chance or one's tailor. Few men, in these days, are known or are describable by their costume. Death is the greatest leveller of the age. Between my Lord and his Butler—between the Cabinet Minister and one of the junior clerks in his office, there is no other difference, than that the latter are, in all probability, sprucer and better brushed than their masters. In the morning we bundle ourselves into our clothes in a sleepy mechanical manner; and in the evening we change them with no greater bestowal of serious thought upon the occupation. They who "give their minds" to a waistcoat or a necktie are deemed fit subjects for the satirical pencil of Mr. Leech or Mr. Doyle. It is now, indeed, considered almost a disgrace to spend much time or much thought upon the adornment of one's person. What it has now become the fashion to call "a swell" is sneered at by men, and held in no great estimation by women. As long as a man is externally distinguished by anything like a *made-up* appearance—as long as there is any trace of art or study, any symptom of consciousness about him—he is altogether in the wrong. The characteristic of modern refinement is ease. In this respect we have gained in one direction if we have lost in another. Our to attract and to vex our grandfathers made themselves up and were turned out at last elaborate fine gentlemen, stately and starched. Now-a-days, the wherewithal we shall be clothed enters little into our calculations. No man of sense now ever thinks of dressing at a woman. Let him do what he may, he cannot beat in mere costume the univeried waiters who stand behind his chair at dinner. Mr. Dickens shows a keen appreciation of the distinctive characteristics of the fine gentleman of the present as contrasted with him of the last century, when he sketches in his recent story of "Hard Times," the "Easy Swell," Mr. James Harthouse. "He don't," says young Gradgrind, "seem to care about his dress, and yet how capitally he does it. What an easy swell he is!" Hang up beside this the portrait of Mr. Chester in "Barnaby Rudge," and the contrast is complete.

That in one respect at least the gain to the present generation is considerable we have incidentally admitted. But the picturesqueness of our manly costume is gone, and seemingly for ever. In these days a coat is a coat, and a prince of the blood cannot get a better one than his valet. There are no longer any social gradations in this matter of costume—no longer any room either for display or prodigality of expenditure. We have by degrees fallen into a style of dress so inornate and so uncostly, that it is attainable by men of all classes above the very poor. The distinction between gentle and simple is to be looked for in carriage, in mien, in gesture—in a word, what Mr. Turveydrop, senior, called generally "deportment," and which is as distinctive and unmistakable as is the difference between velvet and sackcloth. There may, we repeat, be advantages in all this. The costume of the present day is not provocative of foppery or extravagance—it encourages neither a waste of time nor a waste of money; and so far it fulfils two important conditions. But a question will suggest itself as to whether it might not fulfil these and other important conditions, and yet be less unpicturesque and unbecoming than it is.

"Since the beginning of the present century," says Dr. Doran, "the laws of fashion have been stringent; those of taste ever execrable. Taste in its true sense, and as applied to costume, has never of late been—

"The admiration
Of this short-coated population—
This sewed-up race, this buttoned nation—
Who, while they boast their laws so free,
Leave not one limb at liberty;
But live, with all their lordly speeches,
The slaves of buttons, and tight breeches."

Even George the Fourth, and his favourites, could not bless or curse the nation with a taste for dress. George the Fourth, the "first gentleman in Europe," who is said to have caused the wrinkles to be ripped out of his royal inexpressibles and fine-drawn, whilst on his august person—a process which, but for certain painful considerations, he would gladly have had performed on his face—encouraged that tightness of apparel from which we are now gradually emancipating ourselves. Lord Petersham, whose pantaloons the wits of the day compared to the two French towns *Toulon* and *Toulouse*, endeavoured to set a fashion of a kindred kind; but looseness of apparel was then considered extravagant and ridiculous, and his commodious garments only raised a laugh at his expense. In this respect, however, we have greatly advanced. A gentleman is not now-a-days compelled to ring for a servant to pick up his pocket-handkerchief. The curse of buttons, however, still sits heavily upon us. Within the last few years we have to a great extent rid ourselves of straps at one end of our trowsers, but we are still strapped at the other; and we are buttoned in all directions from our heads to our heels—from our shirt-collars down to our shoes. We are emphatically, indeed, "a buttoned nation." If to be "close-buttoned to the chin" be a characteristic of an "honest man," we are certainly the honestest people in the world.

The connection of Buttons and Honesty is not very apparent; but they are brought into curious antagonism in the following passage, which we cite from Dr. Doran's book. We suspect that the information which it contains, will be new to a great number of our readers.

"Touching buttons, I may observe that there is a curious law extant with regard to them. It is by Acts of Parliament passed in three reigns—William III., Anne, and George I.—perfectly illegal for tailors to make, or mortal man to wear, clothes with any other buttons appended thereto, but buttons of brass. This law is in force for the benefit of the Birmingham makers; and it further enacts not only that he who makes or sells garments with any other than brass buttons thereto affixed, shall pay a penalty of forty shillings for every dozen, but that he shall not be able to recover the price he claims, if the wearer thinks proper to resist payment. Nor is the act a dead letter. It is not many weeks since that honest Mr. Shirley sued plain Mr. King for nine pounds sterling, due for a suit of clothes. King pleaded non-liability on the ground of an illegal transaction, the buttons on the garment supplied being made of cloth, or bone covered with cloth, instead of gay and glittering brass, as the law directs. The judge allowed the plea; and the defendant having thus gained a double suit without cost, immediately proceeded against the defendant to recover his share of the forty shillings for every dozen buttons which the poor tailor had unwittingly supplied. A remarkable feature in this case was, that the judge who admitted the plea, the barrister who set it up, and the client who profited by it, were themselves all buttoned contrary to law."

We wish Dr. Doran had mentioned the Court in which, and the judge before whom this curious case was tried—a case in which, as our author insinuates, the plaintiff gained his suit in more senses than one, and of which it might be further observed, that he had so much natural brass about him, that he did not need any on his coat.

We do not know whether it was, in anywise, in connection with this subject of buttons, that Sir Harry Smith, at the Cape of Good Hope, conceived the idea of weaning the Kaffir chiefs from the predatory habits, which had occasioned and were occasioning so much border warfare, by encouraging them to indue tail-coats. But he unquestionably regarded broadcloth as a powerful agent of civilization, and, in order to give it full effect, proclaimed that he would receive at the durbars, or levees, which he held on the frontier, only those savages who appeared decently attired in tail-coats. The result we are assured was curious. Cape Town and Graham's Town, were largely indented upon for these symbols of civilized life, and the warriors of South Africa might have been seen scrambling to and from the camp of the English chief with their naked bodies thrust into swallow-tailed coats, and their naked limbs dangling down beneath the produce of the European slop-shop.

In the East, however, it is not the tail-coat, but the round hat that is regarded as the emblem of Christian civilization. A topi-wallah or hat-wearer, is only another name for a Christian. Dr. Doran asks his readers if they know why beavers was originally the favourite material for a hat. And, anticipating their ignorance, he answers that, "Dr. Marcus was told by a Jew physician of Ulm, that by wearing a cap of beaver's fur, anointing the head once a month with oil of castor, and taking two or three ounces of it in a year, a man's memory may be so strengthened that he will remember everything that he reads." "I would eschew, adds the Doctor, "French velvet, and stick to beaver, if I thought that." Whether he would be equally willing to take the required quantity of castor oil internally, he does not think it necessary to indicate.

The subject of *Hats* is a melancholy one. Dr. Doran says, with exceeding truth, that "the ugliest article that ever could be devised for the purpose, seems to be planted upon our unwilling brows for ever." The ugliest—the most inconvenient—and the most uncomfortable. We do not know one single appreciable condition which the Englishman's round hat fulfils. And yet from the constancy with which it is maintained from year's end to year's end, it might be presumed that we had discovered the great τὸ καλὸν in this class of apparel, and that the art of man could not possibly improve it. Everybody complains of it—but everybody wears it. In spite of the universal acknowledgment that the hard ungainly cylinder, with which we afflict ourselves is, in every sense, an abomination, we have not the courage to adopt anything more pleasant to wear, and more comely to look upon. At the time of the Great Exhibition of 1851, one or two London hatters, encouraged by the notion that the congeries of all nations, which it was believed would be huddled together in the metropolis during that remarkable summer, would present a motley variety of costumes; and that, therefore, any departure from the conventional style of dress would be less noticeable than at other times, took advantage of the occasion and endeavoured to introduce a new and improved form of manly head-gear. Many varieties of hats figured in the shop-windows. There were lowerings of the crown, and widenings of the brim; and, here and there, a suggestion of feathers. The idea of feathers was of course preposterous, being utterly out of keeping with stand-up collars, stiff neckcloths, tail-coats and long trowsers; but there were other more moderate innovations not unworthy of general recognition. The attempted reform was a laudable one; but it failed. Whilst the metropolis was full of strangers, a small number of these improved beavers were sold, and one or two sanguine tradesmen began to think that an improved hat, presenting fewer of the features of the old chimney-pot, would really come to be adopted. But the Exhibition was closed; the men of "All Nations" dispersed; and the adventurous gentlemen, who had donned the new-style hats, lost heart, and fell back upon the old conventionality.

It would be wrong, however, to say that of late years the hat-movement has been entirely resultless. The extensive use of those light, limp, low-crowned, broad-brimmed head-pieces, known as "wide-awakes," is an indication of the good sense of the people. They are very becoming. At the sea-side, in rural districts, in the railway-carriage, on the steamboat, they are worn without reserve or compunction. There are few men, be their status or their dignity what it may, who have not invested half-a-crown in a wide-awake. But the good sense of the people seems to stop short of the times. The wide-awake is as yet only regarded as a type of semi-civilization. It is still an eccentricity—an excess; a thing rather tolerated than accepted, and therefore of limited social application. We shall rejoice when it surmounts all prejudice, and silences all misgivings. Perhaps that good time coming is not very remote.—*Extract from an article in The North British Review.*

THE DEAD CZAR.

Lay him beneath his snows,
The great Norse-giant, who in these last days
Troubled the nations. Gather decently
His emperor's robes about him. 'Tis but a man—
This demi-god. Or rather it *was* man.
It is—a little dust; that will corrupt
As fast as any nameless dust that lies
'Neath Alma's grass or Balaklava's vines.

No vineyard grave for him! No quiet bones
By river margin laid, where o'er far seas
Do children's prayers and women's memories come,
Like angels, and sit by the sepulchre,
Saying: "All these were men who knew to count,
Front-faced, the cost of Honour, nor did shrink
From its full payment; knowing how to die,
They died—as men."

But this man?—Ah! for him
Pale solemn state, church chantings, funerals grand,
The stony-wombed sarcophagus, and then
Oblivion.

No—oblivion were renown
To that fierce howl which rolls from land to land
Exulting: "Art thou fallen, Lucifer,
Son of the Morning?" Or condemning: "Thus
Perish the wicked." Or blaspheming: "Here
Lies our Belshazzar, our Sennacherib,
Our Pharaoh—he whose heart God hardened,
So that he would not let the people go."

Self-glorifying sinners! Why, this man
Was but as other men; you, Levite small,
Who shut your sainted ears and prate of hell,
When, outside church doors, congregations poor
Praise Heaven in their own way; you, Autocrat
Of all the hamlet, who add field to field,
And house to house, whose slavish children cower
Before your tyrant footstep; or you, fierce
Fanatic, and ambitious egotist,
Who think God stoops from his great universe
To lay his finger on your puny head,
And crown it, that you henceforth as loud parade
Your maggotship, through all the wondering world:
"I am the Lord's annointed!"

Fools and blind!
This Czar—this Emperor—this dethroned corpse,
Lying so straightly in an icy calm
Grander than sovereignty, was but as ye;
No better, and no worse—Heaven mend us all!

Carry him forth and bury him—Death's peace
Be on his bone! Mercy by his bier
Sits silent; or says only in meek words:
"Let him who is without sin 'mongst you all,
Cast the first stone."

—*Chambers's Edinburgh Journal.*

BIRDS.

Birds live more in a given time than any other creatures. For, to live is not only to live; it is also to move, act, and travel. The hours of the swift, which in sixty minutes can reach the distance of eighty leagues, are longer than the hours of the tortoise, because they are better occupied, and contain a greater number of events. Men of the present day, who can go from Europe to America in little more than a week, live four times as much as men of the last century, who took a month to make the passage. People who are now fifty years of age have still a longer time before them than Michael Angelo and Voltaire had at that moment when they were laid in the cradle. Independently of birds thus enjoying more of life than all other beings in the same given number of years, time seems to glide over them without leaving a trace of its effects; or, rather, time only improves them, reviving their colours and strengthening their voices. Age increases the beauty of birds, while in men it brings on ugliness.

A bird is a model ship constructed by the hand of God, in which the conditions of swiftness, manageability, and lightness are absolutely and necessarily the same as in vessels built by the hand of man. There are not in the world two things which resemble each other more strongly, both mechanically and physically speaking, than the carcase and frame-work of a bird and a ship. The breast-bone so exactly resembles a keel, that the English language retained the name. The wings are the oars, the tail, the rudder. That original observer, Huber, the Genevese, who has carefully noticed the flight of birds of prey, has even made use of the metaphor thus suggested, to establish a characteristic distinction between rowers and sailers. The rowers are the falcons, who have the first or second wing-feather the longest, and who are able by means of this powerful oar to dart right into the wind's eye. The mere sailers are the eagles, the vultures, and the buzzards, whose more rounded wings resemble sails. The rowing bird is to the sailing bird what the steamer, that laughs at adverse winds, is to the schooner, which cannot advance against them.

The bones of high flyers, as well as their feathers, are tubes filled with air, communicating with a pulmonary reservoir of prodigious capacity. This reservoir is also closely connected with the air-cells which lie between the interior muscles, and which are so many swimming-bladders, by aid of which the bird is able to inflate its volume, and diminish its specific gravity in proportion. In birds that are laden with a heavy burden of head, Nature has interposed so decided a gap between skin and flesh, that there results an almost complete detachment of the skin. Consequently, they can be stripped of their coating just as easily as a rabbit can. In man and other mammifers the blood, in the act of breathing, advances ready to meet the air; in birds air enters to find the blood, and comes in contact with it everywhere. Hence an ubiquity of respiration and a rapidity of hæmatosis, which explains the untirability of the wings of birds. The muscles do not get fatigued, because they receive new vigour every second from the influence of the ever-revived blood. A stag or a hare drops at last, when hunted, because its lungs, rather than its legs, are tired.

Between the different members of a bird's body there exists a sort of equilibrium or balance, which prevents any one organ from obtaining undue development without another losing in the same proportion. Thus exaggerated length of wing generally coincides with very small feet and legs. Examples: the frigate-bird, the swift, and the humming-bird. Feathered feet and legs are mostly short, as in pigeons, bantams, ptarmigan, and grouse. Nature always contrives to economize out of one part of a bird's body the material which she has too lavishly expended upon another. Good walkers are bad flyers, and good flyers are bad walkers. First-rate runners and divers are deprived of the power of rising in the air. Half-blind individuals, like owls, are astonishingly quick of hearing. Creatures clad in plain costume are recompensed by the powers of song. The lark and the red-breast, victim species (both being greedily eaten in France) have the gift of poesy bestowed upon them for their future sorrows.

The most exquisite sense a bird possesses is sight. The acuteness and sensibility of the retina are in direct proportion to the rapidity of wing. The swift, according to Belon's calculation, can see a gnat distinctly at the distance of more than five hundred yards. The kite hovering in the air at a height beyond our feeble vision, perceives with ease the small dead minnow floating on the surface of the lake, and is cognizant of the imprudence of the poor little field-mouse, as it timidly ventures out of its hole. All God has done and made, He has thoroughly well done and made. If he had not exactly proportioned the visual organs of the bird of prey, or the swallow to its dashing flight, the mere extreme velocity of the bird would have only served to break its neck. Partridges constantly kill themselves against the iron wires of electric telegraphs; and nothing is more common than to find thrushes and larks with dislocated vertebræ, when they fall into the large vertical net which is used in France by twilight sportsmen.—*Toussenel's "Monde des Oiseaux."*

ST. CATHARINE BORNE BY ANGELS.

BY HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

* * * * A picture of the Dusseldorf School represents St. Catharine borne up in the air by four angels, her hands folded peacefully over her bosom, and her eyes closed as in an ecstatic sleep. The engraving of this picture is common in our print shops.

Slow through the solemn air in silence sailing,
Borne by mysterious angels, strong and fair,
She sleeps at last—blest dreams her eyelids veiling,
Above this weary world of strife and care.

Lo! how she passeth—dreamy, slow, and calm—
Scarce wave those broad, white wings, so silvery bright;
Those cloudy robes, in star-emblazoned folding,
Sweep mistily athwart the evening light.

Far, far below, the dim, forsaken earth,
The foes that threaten, or the friends that weep—
Past, like a dream, the torture and the pain;
For so He giveth his beloved sleep.

The restless bosom of the surging ocean
Gives back the image as the clouds float o'er,
Hushing in glassy awe his troubled motion;
For one blest moment he complains no more.

Like the transparent golden floor of heaven,
His charmed waters lie as in a dream,
And glistening wings, and starry robes unfolding,
And serious angel eyes far downward gleam.

Oh, restless sea! thou seemest all enchanted
By that sweet vision of celestial rest;
Where are the winds and tides thy peace that haunted,
So still thou seemst, so glorified and blest!

Ah, sea! to morrow, that sweet scene forgotten,
Dark tides and tempests shall thy bosom rear;
And thy complaining waves, with restless motion,
Shall toss their hands in their old wild despair.

So o'er our hearts sometimes the sweet, sad story
Of suffering saints, borne homeward crowned and blest,
Shines down in stillness with a tender glory
And makes a mirror there of breathless rest.

But not alone in those old Eastern regions
Are Christ's beloved ones tried by cross and chain;
In many a house are his elect ones hidden,
His martyrs suffering in their patient pain.

The rack, the cross, life's weary wrench of woe,
The world sees not, as slow, from day to day,
In calm, unspoken patience, sadly still,
The loving spirit bleeds itself away.

But there are hours when, from the heavens unfolding,
Come down the angels with the glad release;
And we look upward, to behold in glory
Our suffering loved ones borne away to peace.

Ah, brief the calm! the restless wave of feeling
Rises again when the bright clouds sweep by,
And unresentful souls reflect no longer
Their unresentful God.

Espoused Lord of the pure saints in glory,
To whom all faithful souls affianced are,
Breathe down thy peace into our restless spirits,
And make a lasting heavenly vision there.

So the bright gates no more on us shall close;
No more the cloud of angels fade away;
And we shall walk amid life's weary strife
In the calm light of thine eternal day.

ANDOVER, April 29, 1855. —*Independent.*

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

"Owen Meredith," whose poems have attracted so much favourable notice, is the *nom de plume* of Mr. Edward Lytton, son of the celebrated novelist.

——The name of Currer Bell's (Miss Brontë's) father was Patrick Prunty, from County Down, Ireland. His parents were of humble origin, but their large family were remarkable for their physical strength and personal beauty. The natural quickness and intelligence of Patrick Prunty attracted the attention of the Rev. Mr. Tighe, rector of Drumgooland parish, who gave him a good education in England, and finally procured him a curacy in Wales. In his new sphere he was not unmindful of his family claims, for he settled £20 per annum on his mother. The patron of Mr. Patrick Prunty, disliking the name, requested him to take that of Brontë, from the fanciful idea that the Greek word *Brontë* would appositely signify the singular quickness and intelligence of his intellect. After Mr. Brontë had assumed the duties of the clerical office, he married, and the issue of that marriage were the three talentled women who delighted the reading world under the titles of Currer, Acton and Ellis Bell.—*Belfast Paper.*

——A correspondent of the *Literary Gazette* sends the following history of Mrs. Nicholls, formerly Miss Brontë, the author of "Jane Eyre": "Mr. Brontë is the incumbent of Haworth, and the father of the 'three sisters'; two had already died, when Mr. Nicholls, his curate, wished to marry the last sole hope. To this Mr. Brontë objected, as it might deprive him of his only child; and though they were much attached, the connection was so far broken that Mr. Nicholls was to leave. Then the vicar of Bradford interposed, by offering to secure to Mr. Nicholls the incumbency of Haworth after Mr. Brontë's death. This obviated all objections, and last summer a new study was built in the parsonage, and the lovers were married, remaining under the father's roof. But, alas! in three months the bride's lungs were attacked, and in three more the father and husband committed their loved one to the grave! Is it not a sad reality in which the romance ends? May God comfort the two mourners!"

——Highlanders Refusing to Fight for the Queen.—England seeks in vain for the *materiel* of a new army throughout the Scottish Highlands, whose gallant and thrifty people, like their Celtic kinsmen, are "gone, gone with a vengeance." After the recruiting officer left Sutherlandshire, the young men of the county appointed a committee to represent their views and opinions, and this committee has forwarded to the newspapers a long list of their grievances, and reasons for refusing to enlist. They say: "There is a great call for volunteers and for recruits, and people at a distance may wonder why we do not come forward. The reply is quite easy. We do not know what we are to come forward for. We have no country to fight for, as our glens and straths are laid desolate, and we have no wives nor children to defend, and we are forbidden to have them. We are not allowed to marry without the consent of the factor—that useful drudge, the ground officer, being always ready to report every case of marriage, and the result would be banishment from our country. For these wrongs and oppressions, as well as for others which we have long and patiently endured, we are resolved that there shall be no volunteers or recruits from Sutherlandshire. Yet we assert that we are as willing as our forefathers were to peril life and limb in defence of our Queen and country, were our wrongs and long-endured oppressions redressed—wrongs which will be remembered in Sutherlandshire by every true Highlanders as long as grass grows and water runs."—*Empire.*

——Our American Anti-Slavery Exchanges.—The *Empire* has received a cordial welcome from several of those true anti-slavery, and, otherwise, progressive journals in the United States, whose good wishes and friendly sympathies are especially gratifying. First and foremost among them is the *Liberator*, edited by William Lloyd Garrison, who for upwards of a quarter of a century has been the able and uncompromising champion of Radical anti-slavery truth. Among our other friends in the American press we may enumerate the *National Anti-Slavery*, the *Anti-Slavery Bugle* and the *Syracuse Weleyan*. The first is the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and is conducted with consummate ability by men who possess a thorough knowledge of the slavery question in all its multifarious and complicated phases. We know of no American journal which is a more valuable repository of facts and arguments appertaining to the institution of negro slavery. The *Bugle* is an excellent abolition journal, which proclaims the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation, and of no "union with slaveholders," to the free citizens of the far West, and especially of Ohio, where it is published. The *Wesleyan* is the organ of the Wesleyan Methodists, who seceded from the Methodist Episcopal Church, that they might adopt a more liberal ecclesiastical polity, and practice, as well as promulgate, the duty of "no communion with slaveholders." We must, also, not omit to mention the *National Era*, a Free Soil journal, published in the city of Washington itself; and *The Independent*, which represents the anti-slavery sentiments of the Congregational body. We wish God-speed to these, and to all other journals in the United States which are seeking to abolish the one stupendous crime of their country.—*London Empire*

——Within the last few weeks, Schamyl has been rejoiced by the return of his son who, eleven years ago, when of tender age, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by the Russians. Since then Schamyl had not heard of the boy, and long ago gave him up for lost. It appears, however, that when he was captured, the Russian general, Prince Woronzoff, sent him to St. Petersburgh, where the late emperor took a liking to the lad, and had him educated in the Military Acadamy. It happened last year that Schamyl, in some sudden surprise, took several Russian ladies prisoners, among whom was the Princess Tscharawaddy. They were conducted to one of Schamyl's mountain fastnesses and confined there as prisoners of war, but treated with the respect and decorum due to their rank and sex. The Governor-General of Tiflis sent a flag of truce to Schamyl to demand the release of the captured ladies, offering a large sum of money and the liberty of several Circassian ladies who had been made prisoners by the Russians. But Schamyl replied that if his son were alive, and the Russians would restore him, he would release all the lady captives. The Emperor Nicholas sent for young Schamyl, give him his liberty, and fitted him out with the needful equipments to undertake the long journey. The exchange took place in the end of January. Young Schamyl, who, when at St. Petersburgh, was not required to abjure the Moslem creed, has profited by his involuntary *sejour* at the Russian capital, and has now returned to his overjoyed father an accomplished cavalier, with a comparatively civilized education. It is said that he entertains great gratitude to the Emperor for his personal treatment, and it is not impossible that his return to his native mountains may have an effect on the future mode of Circassian warfare, and the introduction of more civilized manners and customs generally amongst his countrymen.

—— The Attempt to Assassinate Wellington.—Apropos of the visit of Louis Napoleon to England, a Brussels journal, the *Sancho*, publishes a singular anecdote from the memoirs of M. Dupin. It appears says our contemporary, that on the night of February 10, 1848, there was an attempt to assassinate the Duke of Wellington, as he was returning to his Champs Elysees. "A judicial inquiry," says M. Dupin, "was commenced, and resulted in suspicions attaching to an old soldier, by name Cantillon." The pistol shot which had been fired at the Duke's carriage struck too high, and went through the panels above the head of the victor of Waterloo. This affair made a terrible noise. The Bourbons, who had been twice brought back by the Duke to the throne they had twice deserted, were bound by the commonest gratitude to show their indignation at the cowardly attempt. Let us hear M. Dupin again: "A certain Marinet, who had boasted to Lord Kinnaird that he knew of a conspiracy to assassinate Lord Wellington, was, in spite of his revelations, arrested and tried with Cantillon. Both were tried by the Court of Assizes on the 10th of May, 1819. The affair lasted five days. The prisoners were defended by M. Dupin, and acquitted. M. Dupin adds that the ball had not been found. The Emperor Napoleon I. heard of the affair at St. Helena, and chatted about it with M. de Las Cases. He justified Cantillon's attempt in these words: "He had as much right to kill that oligarch, as the latter had to send me to St. Helena." This apology for political assassination was not confined to words. In his will the great man testified his admiration of the devotedness of Cantillon by a legacy of ten thousand francs. After many political vicissitudes the Second Empire arose "like a thief in the night." The nephew, who has accustomed France to stand and deliver, remembers that the uncle left a will to recompense the devoted services of his adherents. France—not only rich enough to pay for her glory, but also to pay for the trifling services rendered to the man who found her free, victorious and powerful, and left her humbled, mutilated and conquered—France paid only a few months since four million of francs (£170,000) to acquit the legacies of the First Emperor. Now we are assured that this M. Cantillon has lately received the ten thousand francs as a small recompense for his heroic act